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THE STORY OF CHANG K'IÉN, CHINA'S PIONEER IN WESTERN ASIA

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER 123 OF SSĪ-MA
TS'YÉN'S SHĪ-KI

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INTRODUCTION

The only complete translation of this Chinese text, which is as difficult as it is important, is the French version published by M. Brosset in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (tome 2, Paris, 1828, p. 418-450) under the title 'Relation du pays de Ta-ouan.' Like Abel Rémusat's works on cognate subjects, it was an undertaking of great merit and quite a revelation to the scientific world of its time, ninety years ago; but a comparison with the original Chinese text will convince Sinologues that a new translation, incorporating the greatly modified identifications and interpretations of later research, is an absolute necessity.

In Brosset's translation, misconceptions of the author's statements are unfortunately so frequent that readers anxious for correct historical or geographical information must be warned not to take facts for granted without a thorough scrutiny of the original. To illustrate the dangers besetting scholars unfamiliar with the spirit of the Chinese language, there is perhaps no more instructive example than the first sentence in § 12. There it is said of Chang K'ién, after his visit to Bactria, that, 'having sojourned there fully a year, he returned, skirting the Nan-shan' (cf. § 61: 'all along the Nan-shan'). Not grasping the meaning of the character *píng* (Giles, no. 9282), which, according to Chang Shóu-ts'íé's commentary of 737 A. D., is in this case to be read *pang* and has the sense of *lién* (Giles, no. 7109), 'to connect, to adjoin,' the very words of our *pang Nan-shan* passage being quoted in K'ang-hi (Rad. 117: 5, 12) from the *Shĭ-kí* as an example, M. Brosset translates: 'Après un an de delai, revenant au mont *Ping-nan*,' and adds in a footnote: 'Montagne dans le Tibet.' To guess the meaning of Chinese words from the

mere sound of a transcription without having seen the Chinese characters themselves is a dangerous experiment. Under the sound *ping*, Giles's Dictionary has no less than twenty characters with as many, or more, different meanings; and about as many characters are found under the sound *p'ing* with the aspirated initial. Among the latter we find *p'ing*, 'a plain' (no. 9311). This had apparently induced Baron von Richthofen (*China*, 1. 449, 454) to reproduce Brosset's translation with an additional note saying that 'der Name Ping-nan zeigt, dass das Gebirge im Süden eines ebenen Landstrichs lag.' The *Ts'ién-han-shu* in its biography of Chang K'ién (chap. 61, p. 2) contains a parallel passage, rendered correctly by 'following the southern mountains' in Wylie's version ('Notes on the Western Regions,' in *Journal of the Anthropol. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 10, Feb. 10, 1880, p. 67).

Wylie's timely and highly meritorious contribution toward a much neglected field of study, however, also contains a great many mistranslations, and should in important cases never be used without consulting the original Chinese text. Alexander Wylie, whose name, as Henry Howorth appropriately remarks (*op. cit.* 9. 53), 'is a household word wherever the study of China and its borders is prosecuted,' had been afflicted with a serious breakdown in health, ending in total blindness, just at the time when he yielded to Howorth's persuasion to take in hand his translation from the *Ts'ién-han-shu* for the Anthropological Institute. On the whole his work gives a fair idea of the subject; but a revision of it will, sooner or later, have to be undertaken.

It is necessary to use the greatest caution in consulting the late T. W. Kingsmill's paper, first published in the *Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S.*, new ser. 14. 1-29, under the title 'The Intercourse of China with Central and Western Asia in the 2d Century B. c.,' and reprinted in *JRAS*, new ser. 14. 74-104, under the title 'The Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan and the Adjacent Countries.'

I have prepared the present new translation primarily in order to get a clear idea of the material which will have to serve as an introduction to renewed studies required for a second edition of my book *China and the Roman Orient*, published in 1885; and I now place it before students of Oriental history and

Chinese literature with the hope that they may improve my rendering and interpretation by their criticisms. Of Professor Édouard Chavannes' gigantic work, the translation of the *Shi-ki* (*Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien traduits et annotés*, Paris, Leroux, tomes 1-5, 1895-1905), only five volumes have appeared, carrying us to Ssü-ma Ts'ien's chapter 47; and some considerable time may elapse before the publication of chapter 123 (cf. Chavannes' Synoptic Table of chapters in the *Shi-ki* and the *T'ung-kiên-kang-mu*, vol. 1, pages ccxlv-ccxlix of his Introduction). In the meantime I would refer readers to this scholar's admirable critical essay on the Chinese historian's work, in his Introduction, pages i-ccxlix. It will be seen from Chavannes that we are not able to fix the exact year of the death of Ssü-ma Ts'ien; but, in all probability, the great work which has earned for him the title of 'the Herodotus of China' must have been completed about the year 99 B. C. (p. xlv), perhaps even a few years later, to give him time for the despatch of ten embassies to the Far West after the appointment, in 100 B. C., of Ch'an-fōng as King of Ta-yüan. His father, Ssü-ma T'an, who, like himself, held the post of court astrologer, and who, besides having conceived the plan of writing the *Shi-ki*, may be responsible for certain portions of that work, had died in 110 B. C. (p. xxxiv, note). It follows, therefore, that he cannot have had any connection with that part of our Ta-yüan chapter which deals with facts lying beyond that date; and if Ssü-ma, the father, has been at all concerned in drafting portions of our text, his co-operation is not likely to have extended beyond its first half—say paragraphs 1 to 79 of the present translation—which I am inclined to look upon as being based chiefly on Chang K'ién's original report to the Emperor.

The Imperial Library of the Sui dynasty, to judge from its Catalogue (*Sui-shu*, chap. 33, p. 23 B), contained a book in one chapter entitled *Chang-k'ién-ch'u-kuan-chü*, i. e. 'Account of Chang K'ién's Expeditions Abroad,' which has apparently not been handed down to later periods, since it is not mentioned in the Catalogues of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, though Chang Tsung-yüan, in his *Sui-king-tsi-chü-k'au-chōng*, chap. 6, p. 46, says that the title is quoted in the chapter on foreign coins in Hung Tsun's work, the *Ts'üan-chü*, published in 1149 A. D. But this may be a secondhand quotation. I place greater confidence

in a reference to it in the *Ku-kin-chu* (chap. 3, p. 3), where the grape is referred to as having been introduced into China by Chang K'ién. From what the critics in the great Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Peking (*Tsung-mu*, 118, p. 4) say in connection with an analysis of the *Ku-kin-chu* text, this paragraph must have been written during the Tsin dynasty, about 300 A. D., when Tsui Pau, the compiler of the older and original text now known as the *Ku-kin-chu*, apparently preferred the *Chang-k'ién-ch'u-kuan-chü* to the *Shü-ki* as an authority. Since no author's name is mentioned in connection with the title, this *chü*, or memoir, may go back to Chang K'ién's own Report. It is, however, not quoted in the *Tsi-min-yau-shu* (about 500 B. C.; see my notice of it in *T'oung Pao*, 6. 436-440, and Bretschneider, *Botanicon Sinicum*, 1. 77 ff.), where a number of foreign plants not referred to in our *Shü-ki* account, such as the pomegranate (*t'u-lin* = *Ind. darim*), *sesamum orientale*, garlic, and *coriandrum sativum*, are distinctly stated to have been introduced into China by Chang K'ién. These and other cultural wanderings are there quoted from various older works, partly lost. Altogether Chinese literature throws considerable light on such subjects as have been treated for Europe in Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*. A great many plants and animals were brought to China, either by Chang K'ién himself or by later expeditions sent by Wu-ti and his successors. Of these, certain breeds of the horse, also the vine and the lucerne, are the only ones referred to in the *Shü-ki*. Nevertheless, the one hero who must be looked upon as the pioneer of all that came from the West was Chang K'ién, whose return to China in 126 B. C. opened a new epoch in the development of Chinese civilization. Another work which, I am led to believe from Bretschneider's *Botanicon Sinicum* (1. 25), was at some time or other ascribed to Chang K'ién himself, is the *Hai-wai-i-wu-ki*, i. e. 'Record of Remarkable Things beyond the Seas.' The title does not, however, seem very descriptive of the account of an overland expedition like Chang K'ién's.

I have in the present translation and in the accompanying Index rendered the several geographical terms occurring in the Chinese text by their Western equivalents, as accepted by most present-day Sinologues, without entering upon the arguments which have in the course of a century brought about so many

important changes since the time of Deguignes and Rémusat. Readers may, however, consult with advantage two papers closely related to our subject: S. K. Shiratori, 'Ueber den Wu-sun-Stamm in Centralasien' in *Keleti Szemle*, 3 (1902), p. 103-140, and O. Franke, 'Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens' in *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch.*, 1904, Anhang.

The Chinese text reproduced is that of the K'ien-lung edition of 1739. It has been compared with the original by Mr. T. Y. Leo, late Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington, D. C., a son of Liu Si-hung, the first Chinese envoy appointed to Germany (Giles, *Chinese Biogr. Dict.*, no. 1299), and one of the few native scholars taking real interest in Western research in Chinese literature, to whom I am also indebted for many valuable suggestions in connection with my translation.

TRANSLATION*

(1) Our first knowledge of Ta-yüan [Ferghana] dates from Chang K'ien. (2) Chang K'ien was a native of Han-chung [in the south of Shen-si province]; during the period of K'ien-yüan [140-134 B. C.] he was a *lang* [a titular officer of the imperial household; a yeoman]. (3) At that time the Son of Heaven made inquiries among those Hiung-nu who had surrendered [as prisoners] and they all reported that the Hiung-nu had overcome the king of the Yüé-chi and made a drinking-vessel out of his skull. The Yüé-chi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, all the time scheming how to take revenge on the Hiung-nu, but had no ally to join them in striking a blow. (4) The Chinese, wishing to declare war on and wipe out the Tartars, upon hearing this report, desired to communicate with the Yüé-chi; but, the road having to pass through the territory of the Hiung-nu, the Emperor sought out men whom he could send. Chang K'ien, being a *lang* [cf. § 2], responded to the call and enlisted in a mission to the Yüé-chi; he took with him one

* The numbers in parentheses indicate the sections similarly numbered in the text as reproduced herewith.

Kan Fu, a Tartar, formerly a slave of the T'ang-i family, and set out from Lung-si [Kan-su], crossing the territory of the Hiung-nu. (5) The Hiung-nu made him a prisoner and sent him to the *Shan-yü* [Great Khan, or King], who detained him, saying: 'The Yüé-chi are to the north of us; how can China send ambassadors to them? If I wished to send ambassadors to Yüé [Kiangsi and Ch'ökiang], would China be willing to submit to us?' He held Chang K'ién for more than ten years, and gave him a wife, by whom he had a son. (6) All this time Chang K'ién had kept possession of the Emperor's token of authority, and, when in the course of time he was allowed greater liberty, he, watching his opportunity, succeeded in making his escape with his men in the direction of the Yüé-chi. (7) Having marched several tens of days to the west, he arrived in Ta-yüan. The people of this country, having heard of the wealth and fertility of China, had tried in vain to communicate with it. (8) When, therefore, they saw Chang K'ién, they asked joyfully: 'Where do you wish to go?' Chang K'ién replied: 'I was sent by [the Emperor of] China to the Yüé-chi, and was made prisoner by the Hiung-nu. I have now escaped them and would ask that your king have some one conduct me to the country of the Yüé-chi; and if I should succeed in reaching that country, on my return to China, my king will reward yours with untold treasures. (9) The Ta-yüan believed his account and gave him safe-conduct on postal roads to K'ang-kü [Soghdiana], and K'ang-kü sent him on to the Ta-yüé-chi. (10) The king of the Ta-yüé-chi having been killed by the Hu ['Tartars'; in this case the Hiung-nu], the people had set up the crown prince in his stead [in the *Ts'ién-han-shu* it is the queen who is appointed his successor]. They had since conquered Ta-hia [Bactria] and occupied that country. The latter being rich and fertile and little troubled with robbers, they had determined to enjoy a peaceful life; moreover, since they considered themselves too far away from China, they had no longer the intention to take revenge on the Hu [Hiung-nu]. (11) Chang K'ién went through the country of the Yüé-chi to Ta-hia [Bactria], yet, after all, he did not carry his point with the Yüé-chi. (12) After having remained there fully a year, he returned, skirting the Nan-shan. He wished to return through the country of the K'iang [Tangutans], but was again made a prisoner by the Hiung-nu, who detained him for more than a year, when the

Shan-yü died and the 'left' Luk-li [possibly Turk. *Ulugla*, 'highly honored'] prince attacked the rightful heir and usurped the throne, thus throwing the country into a state of confusion. At this time Chang K'ién, with his Tartar wife and T'ang-i Fu [i. e. Kan Fu, see above, § 4], escaped and returned to China.

(13) [The Emperor of] China appointed Chang K'ién a *T'ai-chung-ta-fu* ['Imperial Chamberlain'] and gave T'ang-i Fu the title *Föng-shi-kün* ['The Gentleman attending the Embassy'].

(14) Chang K'ién was a man of strong physique, magnanimous and trustful, and popular with the foreign tribes in the south and west. (15) T'ang-i Fu was formerly a Hu [Tartar; Hiung-nu?]. Being an excellent bowman, he would, when supplies were exhausted, provide food by shooting game. (16) When Chang K'ién started on his journey, his caravan consisted of more than a hundred men; thirteen years later, only two lived to return. (17) The following countries were visited by Chang K'ién in person: Ta-yüan [Ferghana], Ta-yüé-chi [Indosecythians], Ta-hia [Bactria], and K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]; there were besides, five or six other large adjacent countries concerning which he gained information and on which he reported to the Emperor in the following terms.

(18) *Ta-yüan* [Ferghana] is to the southwest of the Hiung-nu and due west of China, at a distance of about 10,000 *li*. (19) The people are permanent dwellers and given to agriculture; and in their fields they grow rice and wheat. They have wine made of grapes (*p'u-t'au*) and many good horses. The horses sweat blood and come from the stock of the *t'ién-ma* [heavenly horse, perhaps the wild horse]. (20) They have walled cities and houses; the large and small cities belonging to them, fully seventy in number, contain an aggregate population of several hundreds of thousands. (21) Their arms consist of bows and halberds, and they shoot arrows while on horseback. (22) North of this country is K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]; in the west are the Ta-yüé-chi; in the southwest is Ta-hia [Bactria]; in the northeast are the Wu-sun; and in the east Han-mi and Yü-tién [Khotan]. (23) All the rivers west of Yü-tién flow in a westerly direction and feed the Western Sea; all the rivers east of it flow east and feed the Salt Lake [Lopnor]. The Salt Lake flows underground. To the south of it [Yü-tién] is the source from which the Ho [the Yellow River] arises. The country contains much jadestone.

The river flows through China; and the towns of Lóu-lan and Ku-shī with their city walls closely border on the Salt Lake. The Salt Lake is possibly 5000 *li* distant from Chang-an. (24) The right [i. e. western] part of the Hiung-nu live to the east of the Salt Lake as far as the great wall in Lung-si. To the south they are bounded by the K'iang [Tangutans], where they bar the road [to China].

(25) *Wu-sun* may be 2000 *li* northeast of Ta-yüan; its people are nomads [following their flocks of cattle], and have the same customs as the Hiung-nu. Of archers they have several tens of thousands, all daring warriors. (26) Formerly they were subject to the Hiung-nu, but they became so strong that, while maintaining nominal vassalage, they refused to attend the meetings of the court.

(27) *K'ang-kü* [Soghdiana] is to the northwest of Ta-yüan, perhaps 2000 *li* distant. It also is a country of nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of the Yüé-chī. They have eighty or ninety thousand archers. The country is coterminous with Ta-yüan. It is small. In the south it is under the political influence of the Yüé-chī; in the east, under that of the Hiung-nu.

(28) *An-ts'ai* [Aorsi] lies to the northwest of K'ang-kü, perhaps at a distance of 2000 *li*. It is a nomad state, and its manners and customs are in the main identical with those of K'ang-kü. It has fully a hundred thousand archers. The country lies close to a great sea [*ta-tsö*, lit. 'great marsh,' the Palus Maeotis, i. e. the Sea of Azov] which has no limit, for it is the Northern Sea.

(29) The *Ta-yüé-chī* [Indoscythians] are perhaps two or three thousand *li* to the west of Ta-yüan. They live to the north of the K'ui-shui [Oxus]. South of them is Ta-hia [Bactria]; in the west is An-si [Parthia]; in the north, K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]. They are a nomad nation, following their flocks and changing their abodes. Their customs are the same as those of the Hiung-nu. They may have from one to two hundred thousand archers. In olden times they relied on their strength, and thought lightly of the Hiung-nu; but when Mau-tun ascended the throne he attacked and defeated the Yüé-chī. Up to the time when Lau-shang, *Shan-yü* of the Hiung-nu, killed the king of the Yüé-chī and made a drinking vessel out of his skull, the

Yüé-ch'ih had lived between Tun-huang [now Sha-ch'ou] and the K'ü-lien [a hill southwest of Kan-ch'ou-fu], but when they were beaten by the Hiung-nu, they fled to a distant country and crossed to the west of Yüan [Ta-yüan], attacked Ta-hia [Bactria], and conquered it. Subsequently they had their capital in the north of the K'üi-shui [Oxus] and made it the court of their king. The minority which were left behind and were not able to follow them, took refuge among the K'iang [Tangutans] of the Nan-shan, and were called *Siau-Yüé-ch'ih* (Small Yüé-ch'ih).

(30) *An-si* [Parthia] may be several thousand *li* west of the Ta-yüé-ch'ih. (31) The people live in fixed abodes and are given to agriculture; their fields yield rice and wheat; and they make wine of grapes. (32) Their cities and towns are like those of Ta-yüan. (33) Several hundred small and large cities belong to it. (34) The territory is several thousand *li* square; it is a very large country and is close to the K'üi-shui [Oxus]. (35) Their market folk and merchants travel in carts and boats to the neighboring countries, perhaps several thousand *li* distant. (36) They make coins of silver; the coins resemble their king's face. Upon the death of a king the coins are changed for others on which the new king's face is represented. (37) They paint [rows of characters] running sideways on [stiff] leather, to serve as records. (38) West of this country is T'iau-ch'ih; north, is An-ts'ai.

(39) *Li-kan* [Syria] and *T'iau-ch'ih* [Chaldea] are several thousand *li* west of An-si and close to the Western Sea. (40) It [referring to T'iau-ch'ih] is hot and damp. (41) The inhabitants plow their fields, in which they grow rice. (42) There is a big bird with eggs like jars. (43) The number of its inhabitants is very large, and they have in many places their own petty chiefs; but An-si [Parthia], while having added it to its dependencies, considers it a foreign country. (44) They have clever jugglers. (45) Although the old people in An-si maintain the tradition that the Jo-shui and the Si-wang-mu are in T'iau-ch'ih, they have not been seen there.

(46) *Ta-hia* [Bactria] is more than 2000 *li* to the southwest of Ta-yüan, on the south bank of the K'üi-shui [Oxus]. (47) The people have fixed abodes and live in walled cities and regular houses like the people of Ta-yüan. (48) They have no great

king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs. (49) While the people are shrewd traders, their soldiers are weak and afraid to fight, so that, when the Ta-yüé-chī migrated westward, they made war on the Ta-hia, who became subject to them. (50) The population of Ta-hia may amount to more than a million. (51) Their capital is called Lan-shī, and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise. (52) To the southeast of it is the country of *Shön-tu* [India]. (53) Chang K'ién says [in his report to the Emperor]: 'When I was in Ta-hia, I saw there a stick of bamboo of Kiung [Kiung-chóu in Ssī-ch'uan] and some cloth of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan]. When I asked the inhabitants of Ta-hia how they had obtained possession of these, they replied: "The inhabitants of our country buy them in Shön-tu [India]." Shön-tu may be several thousand *li* to the southeast of Ta-hia. The people there have fixed abodes, and their customs are very much like those of Ta-hia; but the country is low, damp, and hot. The people ride on elephants to fight in battle. The country is close to a great river. According to my calculation, Ta-hia must be 12,000 *li* distant from China and to the southwest of the latter. Now the country of Shön-tu being several thousand *li* to the southeast of Ta-hia, and the produce of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan] being found there, that country cannot be far from Shu. Suppose we send ambassadors to Ta-hia through the country of the K'iang [Tan-gutans], there is the danger that the K'iang will object; if we send them but slightly farther north, they will be captured by the Hiung-nu; but by going by way of Shu [Ssī-ch'uan] they may proceed direct and will be unmolested by robbers.'

(54) The Son of Heaven on hearing all this reasoned thus: Ta-yüan and the possessions of Ta-hia and An-si are large countries, full of rare things, with a population living in fixed abodes and given to occupations somewhat identical with those of the Chinese people, but with weak armies, and placing great value on the rich produce of China; in the north the possessions of the Ta-yüé-chī and K'ang-kü, being of military strength, might be made subservient to the interests of the court by bribes and thus gained over by the mere force of persuasion. In this way a territory 10,000 *li* in extent would be available for the spread among the four seas of Chinese superior civilization by communicating through many interpreters with the nations holding

widely different customs. As a result the Son of Heaven was pleased to approve Chang K'ién's proposal. (55) He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with Chang K'ién's suggestions, exploring expeditions be sent out from Kiên-weï of the Shu kingdom [the present Sŭ-chóu-fu on the Upper Yangtzi] by four different routes at the same time: one to start by way of Mang; one by way of Jan [both names referring to barbarous hill tribes on the southwestern frontier; cf. *Shi-kì*, chap. 116, p. 2]; one by way of Ssï [or Si]; and one by way of Kiung [Kiung-chóu in Ssï-ch'uan] and P'o [the present Ya-chóu]. (56) These several missions had each traveled but one or two thousand *li* when those in the north were prevented from proceeding farther by the Ti and Tsö tribes, and those in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming tribes [placed by the commentators in the southwest of Sŭ-chóu-fu], who had no chiefs and, being given to robbery, would have killed or captured the Chinese envoys. (57) The result was that the expeditions could not proceed farther. They heard, however, that about a thousand *li* or more to the west there was the 'elephant-riding country' called *Tién-yüé* [possibly meaning 'the Tién,' or Yünnan, part of Yüé or South China], whither the traders of Shu [Ssï-ch'uan] were wont to proceed, exporting produce surreptitiously. Thus it was that by trying to find the road to Ta-hia [Bactria] the Chinese obtained their first knowledge of the Tién country (Yün-nan).

(58) The original idea to penetrate from China through the country of the southwestern barbarians was abandoned, because, in spite of the heavy expense incurred, the passage could not be effected; but it was in pursuance of Chang K'ién's report regarding the possibility of finding a road to Ta-hia [Bactria] that attention had again been drawn to these barbarians. It had been due to Chang K'ién's knowledge of their pasture-grounds, when following, in the capacity of a subcommander, the general-in-chief sent out against the Hiung-nu, that the army did not fall short of provisions. For this the Emperor invested him with the title 'Marquis of Po-wang.' This was in the year 123 B. c. (59) When, in the following year, Chang K'ién took part in the Yu-peï-p'ing [about 80 miles east of Peking] campaign against the Hiung-nu in the capacity of a commander of the Guards under General Li [Li Kuang, according to *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 61, p. 4] as commander-in-chief and the latter was blocked

by the enemy with considerable losses to his army, Chang K'ién failed to come soon enough to the rescue. For this he was liable to the penalty of death; but, on payment of a ransom, his punishment was reduced to degradation to the rank of a private. (60) In the same year China sent the Piau-ki general (Ho K'ü-ping) to conquer the western *ordu* [capital] of the Hiung-nu. He took several tens of thousands [of troops] and pushed forward as far as the K'i-lién-shan [a hill in the south of the present Kan-chóu-fu]. (61) In the following year (121 B. C.) the Hun-shō prince with all his people tendered his allegiance to China, and in the west of Kin-ch'öng [Lan-chóu-fu] and in Ho-si [in the west of Kan-su] all along the Nan-shan as far as the Salt Lake [the Lopnor] there remained no Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu would from time to time come there to waylay travelers, but such visitations were of rare occurrence indeed, and two years later the Chinese forced their khan to retreat into the north of the desert. The Son of Heaven thereupon consulted Chang K'ién several times about Ta-hia and other countries, and since K'ién had lost his marquisate he submitted the following report:

(62) 'When your servant was living among the Hiung-nu, he heard that the king of the Wu-sun was styled *K'un-mo*, and that the K'un-mo's father was [chief of] a petty state on the western borders of the Hiung-nu. The Hiung-nu attacked and killed his father, and the K'un-mo, at his birth, was cast away in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a blackbird and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk. (63) The Shan-yü [khan of the Hiung-nu] regarded this as a wonder and, having raised the child to manhood, made him a military leader, in which capacity he distinguished himself on several occasions. (64) The Shan-yü restored to him the people of his father and made him governor of the western *ordu* [city, or fortified camp]. On receiving charge of his people, the K'un-mo attacked the neighboring small states with tens of thousands of bowmen, gained experience in warfare, and, after the Shan-yü's death, withdrew his forces to a distant retreat, declining to appear at the court of the Hiung-nu. (65) The latter dispatched a force of picked troops to attack him, but, being unable to conquer him, regarded him as a spirit whom they had better keep at a distance and whom they would not seriously attack, though they con-

tinued to claim [nominal] jurisdiction of the Shan-yü over the K'un-mo. (66) Now the Shan-yü has recently been defeated by China, in consequence of which the Hun-shö prince's former territory has become deserted; and since the barbarians covet the rich products of China, this is an opportune time to bribe the Wu-sun with liberal presents, and to invite them to settle farther east in the old Hun-shö territory. Should they become attached to the Chinese as a brother nation by intermarriage, the situation would be in favor of their listening to our proposition, and if they do this, it would be tantamount to the cutting off of the right [i. e. western] arm of the Hiung-nu nation. Once we are connected with the Wu-sun, the countries to the west of them might be invited to come to us as outer subjects.'

(67) The Son of Heaven approved of Chang K'ién's proposal and appointed him a commander in his bodyguard as well as leader of an expedition consisting of 300 men, each with two horses, and oxen and sheep in myriads. He also provided him with gifts of gold and silk stuffs worth millions, and with assistant envoys, holding credentials, whom he might send to and leave behind in other nearby countries. (68) When Chang K'ién arrived at Wu-sun, he keenly resented the humiliation offered to him, the ambassador of China, by a mere king of the Wu-sun, K'un-mo, in receiving him in audience with court ceremonial like that adopted with the Shan-yü of the Hiung-nu. Knowing the greed of these barbarians, he said: 'If the king does not pay due respect to these gifts, which have come from the Son of Heaven, they will be withdrawn.' The K'un-mo rose and offered obeisance before the gifts, but all other ceremonies passed off as of old. (69) Chang K'ién explained the Emperor's ideas as follows: 'If the Wu-sun are able to move eastward to the country of the Hun-shö, China will send a princess to become the K'un-mo's consort.' (70) The Wu-sun country was divided, for the King was old and, considering China very distant and being unaware of its greatness, had heretofore submitted to the Hiung-nu, and this for a long time indeed. Moreover, his own country was also nearer them, so that his ministers, who were afraid of the Tartars, did not wish to move away, and, since the king was not free to arrive at a decision of his own choice, Chang K'ién was unsuccessful in inducing him to adopt his suggestion.

(71) The K'un-mo had more than ten sons, the second of whom, called Ta-lu, was an energetic leader of the masses. In this capacity he set himself up in a separate part of the country with more than ten thousand horsemen. Ta-lu's elder brother, the crownprince, had a son called the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* [according to *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 96 B, p. 3, a title]. When the crownprince met with an early death, his last words to his father, the K'un-mo, were: 'Let the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* become crownprince, and do not allow any other man to take his place.' The K'un-mo, in his grief, consented; and so on the death of his father the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* became crownprince. Ta-lu was angry at being prevented from acting as crownprince and, having imprisoned his brothers, rose with his people in rebellion against the *Ts'ön-ts'ü* and the K'un-mo. The latter, being old, was in constant fear that Ta-lu might kill the *Ts'ön-ts'ü*; he therefore gave the latter more than ten thousand horsemen to settle elsewhere, while retaining the same number of horsemen for his own protection.

The population was thus divided into three parts; and, notwithstanding that the majority were under his authority, the K'un-mo did not dare to take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with Chang K'ién. (72) Chang K'ién, therefore, sent assistant ambassadors in several directions to the countries of Ta-yüan [Ferghana], K'ang-kü [Soghdiana], Ta-yüé-chi [Indo-scythians], Ta-hia [Bactria], An-si [Parthia], Shön-tu [India], Yü-tién [Khotan], Han-mi [?] and the adjacent territories. (73) Wu-sun furnished guides and interpreters to accompany Chang K'ién on his return, and the latter, traveling with several dozen natives and as many horses sent by the people of Wu-sun in acknowledgment [of the Emperor's gifts], thereby afforded them the opportunity to see China with their own eyes and thus to realize her extent and greatness. (74) On his return to China, Chang K'ién was appointed *Ta-hing* ['Great Traveler,' or head of the office of foreign affairs] with rank as one of the nine ministers of state. (75) More than a year after this he died.

(76) The envoys of Wu-sun, having seen that China was a very populous and wealthy country, reported to this effect on their return home, and this increased the estimation in which she was held there. (77) More than a year later, some of the envoys whom Chang K'ién had sent to the Ta-hia countries

returned with natives of those countries, and after this the countries of the Northwest began to have intercourse with China. Since Chang K'ien had been the pioneer in such intercourse, envoys proceeding to the West after him always referred to the Marquis of Po-wang as an introduction in foreign countries, the mention of his name being regarded as a guaranty of good faith. (78) After the death of K'ien, the Hiung-nu heard of China's relations with Wu-sun, at which they became angry and wished to make war on it. When China sent missions to Wu-sun, her ambassadors continually passed through the south of that country to Ta-yüan [Ferghana] and Ta-yüé-chi [Indoscythians], and since the people of Wu-sun were afraid, they sent ambassadors and tribute horses, expressing their wish to bring about family relations by marriage with a Chinese imperial princess. The Son of Heaven consulted his ministers, who all said: 'Let them first offer marriage gifts and we shall then send the maiden.' (79) At first the Son of Heaven consulted an oracle in the 'Book of Changes,' which said that 'the divine horse will come from the northwest.' The horses received from Wu-sun were termed 'heavenly horses,' but when the 'blood-sweating [*han-hüé*] horses' obtained from Ta-yüan [Ferghana] were found much stronger, the name 'Wu-sun horses' was changed to '[horses of the] extreme west,' and the Ta-yüan horses were called 'heavenly horses.'

At this time China began to build the great wall to the west of Ling-kü [near the present Liang-chóu-fu in Kan-su], and first established the district of Tsiu-ts'üan, through which one could reach the countries of the Northwest. Thus more embassies were despatched to An-si [Parthia], An-ts'ai [the Aorsi, or Alans], Li-kan [Syria under the Seleucids], T'iau-chi [Chaldea], and Shön-tu [India], and as the Son of Heaven had such a fancy for the horses of Ta-yüan, ambassadors [sent to procure these horses] followed upon one another's heels all along the route. Such missions would be attended by several hundred men, or by a hundred men, according to their importance. The gifts carried by them emulated in the main those sent in the time of the Marquis of Po-wang; but later on, when they had ceased to be a novelty, they were made on a smaller scale. As a rule, rather more than ten such missions went forward in the course of a year, and at the least five or six.

Those sent to distant countries would return home after eight or nine years, those to nearer ones, within a few years.

(80) This was the time when China had extinguished Yüé,¹ in consequence of which the barbarians in the southwest of Shu (Ssi-ch'uan) became alarmed and asked that Chinese officers be appointed, and attended court. Thus were created the districts of I-chóu, Yüé-sui, Tsang-ko, Shön-li, and Wön-shan, [the government] being guided by the wish that these territories should form a link in the development of the route to Ta-hia [Bactria]. (81) And so the envoys Pai Shí-ch'ang and Lü Yüé-jön were sent out in more than ten parties in a single year from these newly founded districts for Ta-hia [Bactria], but again and again they were held up by the K'un-ming tribes, who killed them and robbed them of the presents they carried, so that they were never able to reach Ta-hia. (82) Thereupon China raised an army from the convicts of the metropolitan district (*san-fu*; cf. *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 76, p. 18, and other quotations in *Piën-tzì-lèi-piën*, chap. 91, p. 9 B) and sent the two generals Kuo Ch'ang and Weï Kuang in command of tens of thousands of soldiers of Pa and Shu [Ssi-ch'uan], to fight the K'un-mings who had intercepted the Chinese ambassadors,² when several tens of thousands of the tribesmen were beheaded or made prisoners by the Chinese army before it withdrew. (83) After this ambassadors sent to the K'un-ming were again robbed, and a passage through this country was still found to be impracticable. (84) On the other hand, missions to Ta-hia [Bactria] by the northern route, viâ Tsiu-ts'üan, had by their frequency caused the foreign countries to be less and less interested in the Chinese ambassadorial gifts, which they no longer appreciated. (85) Since the work of the Marquis of Po-wang in preparing the way for intercourse with foreign countries had earned for him rank and position, officials and attendants who had accompanied him vied with one another in presenting to the

¹ Clearly referring to Nan-yüé, South China, conquered by General Lu Po-tö in 112 B. C., Hirth, *Chines. Ansichten über Bronzetrommeln*, p. 30. Cf. Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 138, and Giles, *Chinese Biog. Dict.*, p. 548, who both give the year as 120 B. C.

² A footnote by the scholiast Sü Kuang, who died 425 A. D., refers this expedition to the year 109 B. C.

throne memorials in which they discussed the wonders, advantages, and disadvantages of certain foreign countries; and when the memorialists asked to be nominated as envoys, the Son of Heaven, on account of the extreme distance of the countries to be visited and owing to the scarcity of men expressing a willingness to go, would comply with such requests and would even provide credentials to candidates for ambassadorial posts without asking any questions as to whence they had come. In order to encourage enterprise in this direction numbers of embassies were fitted out and sent forward, though among those who returned there were bound to be some who had either purloined the presents entrusted to them or failed to carry out the imperial instructions.

The Son of Heaven on account of the experience of these quasi-envoys, would merely investigate cases as being highly criminal and punishable in order to stir up a feeling of resentment. By causing them to atone for their guilt [by payments?] they were led to apply again for ambassadorial appointments. Chances for such appointments now becoming numerous, those concerned in them made light of infringements of the law, and the lower officials connected with them would also give exaggerated accounts of the conditions of the foreign countries in question. Those who reported on some great projects in connection with foreign countries would be given plenipotentiary posts, whereas reports on less important ones would be rewarded with mere assistantships, for which reason reckless and unprincipled men became eager to follow examples thus set. The ambassadors, being mostly sons of poor families, appropriated the gifts sent by the government, and would undersell them for their private benefit. Foreign countries, in their turn, got tired of the Chinese ambassadors, whose tales consisted of conflicting accounts.^{2a} They

^{2a} Mr. T. Y. Leo remarks in connection with the above sentence: 'This is the interpretation by Fu K'ién [2d century A. D.]. According to Ju Shun [as quoted in a scholium to our passage] the passage would read: "The foreign countries in their turn got tired of the Chinese ambassadors, for many men [of the foreign countries] had complained that each had been more or less cheated and insulted several times by the Chinese." Judging by what follows, I am inclined to think the latter interpretation is the more logical. Ju Shun was a scholar of the Wei Kingdom of the San-kuo period [3d century A. D.].'

imagined that a Chinese army would not be near enough to reach them, and that they were free to annoy the Chinese ambassadors by cutting off their food supplies. The ambassadors were thus reduced to a state of starvation, and their exasperation took the form of actual hostilities. Lóu-lan and Ku-shī, which, though merely small countries, were thoroughfares to the West, attacked and robbed the Chinese ambassadors [Wang K'ui and others] more than ever, and unexpected troops of the Hiung-nu would at all times intercept westbound envoys. Ambassadors would therefore strive to outvie one another in spreading reports of the calamities threatening China from those foreign countries, which had walled cities and towns, but whose armies were weak and could easily be vanquished.

(86) On this account the Son of Heaven sent the Tsung-piau marquis [*Chau*] Po-nu to lead some tens of thousands of cavalry of the feudal states and regular troops toward the Hiung-nu River, wishing to engage the Tartars, but the latter retreated without giving battle. (87) In the following year Po-nu attacked Ku-shī. He took the lead with more than seven hundred light cavalry, captured the king of Lóu-lan, and defeated Ku-shī. He then displayed the prestige of his army in order to 'corner' Wu-sun, Ta-yüan, and other countries. On his return, he was raised to the rank of a marquis of Tso-yé.³ (88) Wang K'ui, who had been repeatedly ill-treated as an ambassador by Lóu-lan, had reported this to the Son of Heaven, who raised an army and ordered him to assist Po-nu in bringing Lóu-lan to terms. For this, Wang K'ui was made Marquis of Hau.⁴ (89) A line of military stations was now established between Tsiu-ts'üan and the Yü-mön Gate. (90) Wu-sun now presented a marriage gift of a thousand horses, upon which China sent a relative of the emperor's, the Princess of Kiang-tu, as a consort for the king of the Wu-sun. The latter, the K'un-mo, appointed her his right [i. e. less-honored] consort. The Hiung-nu, on their part, also sent a daughter in marriage to the K'un-mo, who appointed her his left [i. e. most-honored] consort. The K'un-mo said 'I am old,' and he induced his grandson, the Ts'ön-ts'ü, to marry the [Chinese] princess.

³ A footnote says that this happened in the year 108 B. C.

⁴ According to a footnote, in 107 B. C.

(91) The Wu-sun had great store of horses; rich men had as many as four or five thousand each.

(92) Once, when a Chinese ambassador had come to An-si [Parthia], the king of that country caused twenty thousand horsemen to welcome him at the eastern frontier, which was several thousand *li* distant from the royal capital. When he reached the capital he found that he had passed some dozens of walled cities, densely populated. When the ambassador returned to China they, in their turn, sent envoys to accompany the mission back to China, in order that they might see China's greatness with their own eyes. They offered as tribute big birds' eggs [ostrich eggs] and jugglers from Li-kan [Syria, etc.]. And the small countries to the west of Yüan, namely Huan, Ts'ién, and Ta-i [?], and those to the east of Yüan, namely, Ku-shü, Han-mi, Su-hié, and others, followed the Chinese ambassadors with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven, who was thereby highly gratified. (93) Also, a Chinese ambassador traced the source of the Ho River, which had its rise in Yü-tién [Khotan]. The hills there yielded great quantities of jadestone, picked up and brought to China [by the ambassadors]. (94) The Son of Heaven, in accordance with old maps and books, gave the name of K'un-lun to the hill in which the Ho River had its source.

(95) At this time the Emperor often made tours of inspection to the seaside, when he was generally accompanied by numbers of foreign guests, upon whom he would bestow abundant provisions, in order to impress them with the wealth of China. On such occasions crowds of onlookers were attracted by the performances of wrestlers, mummers, and all such wonderful entertainments, and by lavish feasts of wine and meat, by which the foreign guests were made to realize China's astounding greatness. They were also made to inspect the several granaries, stores, and treasuries, with a view to showing them the greatness of China and to inspiring them with awe. Later on the skill of these jugglers, wrestlers, mummers, and similar performers was further developed, their efficiency was increased from year to year. (96) It was from this period that the coming and going of ambassadors of the foreign countries of the northwest became more and more frequent. (97) The countries west of Yüan [Ferghana], which, being of the opinion that they were too far away from

China, had as yet calmly stood upon their national pride, could not be won over by our polite civilization into a state of vassalage. (98) Westward from Wu-sun as far as An-si [Parthia], the Hiung-nu lived nearby, and since they had [once] been a source of trouble to the Yüé-chī [Indoscythians], it was still a fact that if an envoy of the Hiung-nu, armed with a letter of the Shan-yü, were sent abroad, all the countries *en route* would give him safe-conduct and provisions without daring to make trouble of any kind, whereas the ambassadors of China could not obtain provisions without a money payment, nor could they continue their journeys on horseback without buying the necessary beasts. The reason for this was that the people of these countries thought that, China being far off and wealthy, the Chinese must buy what they wished to get; indeed they were more afraid of the Hiung-nu than of the Chinese ambassadors. (99) In the neighborhood of Yüan [Ferghana] wine was made from grapes. Rich people stored ten thousand stones and more of it without its spoiling. (100) The people liked to drink wine, and their horses liked lucerne (*mu-su* = *medicago sativa*). The Chinese envoys imported their seeds into China. The Son of Heaven thereupon first planted lucerne and vines on rich tracts of ground, and by the time that he had large numbers of 'heavenly' horses, and when many ambassadors from foreign countries arrived, by the side of Imperial summer palaces and other retreats one might see wide tracts covered with vineyards and lucerne fields.

(101) The people occupying the tracts from Ta-yüan [Ferghana] westward as far as the country of An-si talked different dialects, but their manners and customs being in the main identical, they understood each other. (102) They had deep-set eyes, most of them wore beards, and as shrewd merchants they would haggle about the merest trifles. They placed high value on women, and husbands were guided in their decisions by the advice of their wives. (103) These countries produced no silk and varnish, and they did not know the casting of coins and utensils.⁵ When some deserters from the retinue of a Chinese embassy had settled there as subjects they taught them

⁵ According to Sū Kuang, A. D. 352-425, some texts have *t'ie*, 'iron,' for *ts'ien*, 'coins.'

how to cast weapons and utensils other than those that they already had. Having secured Chinese yellow and white metal [i. e. gold and silver],^o they used this for making utensils; they did not use it for money. (104) And since Chinese ambassadors became numerous, the young men who had been attached to those missions would generally approach the Son of Heaven with [what seemed] a well worked-out project. (105) Thus they reported: 'The superior horses found in Ta-yüan are concealed [kept out of sight] in the city of Īr-shī, which is unwilling to give them to the Chinese ambassadors.' (106) Now, since the Son of Heaven was fond of the horses of Ta-yüan, he was pleased with this report and sent certain strong men [sportsmen, turfmen?], Ch'ö Ling and others, with a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse in order to ask the king of Ta-yüan for the superior horses in the city of Īr-shī. (107) The Yüan country being overstocked with Chinese produce, the people held counsel among themselves, saying: 'China is far away from us, and in the Salt Lake [region] numbers of travelers have met with destruction. To the north of it one falls into the hands of Hu [Tartar] robbers; in the south there is dearth of water and vegetation; moreover, they are everywhere cut off from cities without any chance of foraging in many cases. Chinese missions, consisting of merely a few hundred members, have quite commonly lost more than half their staff by starvation. If this be so, how much less could the Chinese send a big army? What harm can they do to us? The horses in Īr-shī are the most precious horses of Yüan.' (108) And they refused to deliver the horses to the Chinese ambassadors. The latter became very angry and with scathing words smashed the golden horse and returned. (109) The notables, in their turn, were incensed and said: 'The Chinese ambassadors have treated us with extreme contempt.' They ordered the envoys out of the country, and caused them to be intercepted at Yü-ch'öng on the eastern

^o Wu Jön-kié, of the 12th century A. D., in his critical work *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, p. 8 B, quotes K'ung Ying-ta, one of the authors of the *Sui-shu* and one of the best-known commentators of the classics, 574-648 A. D., as saying that to the ancients *huang-kin*, 'yellow metal,' and *huang-t'ie*, 'yellow iron,' were identical with the *t'ung*, 'copper,' of his time. He also thinks that *pai-kin* means both 'silver' and 'tin,' the latter yielding bronze in combination with copper.

frontier, where the ambassadors were killed and robbed of their belongings.

(110) Upon hearing this the Son of Heaven was very wroth. The ambassadors previously sent to Yüan, namely Yau Ting-han and others, reported: 'The army of Yüan is weak; if we attack it with no more than three thousand Chinese soldiers using crossbows, we shall be sure to vanquish it completely.' The Son of Heaven, having previously sent the Marquis of Tso-yé with seven hundred cavalry to attack Lóu-lan, with the result that the king of that country was captured, approved of the plan suggested by Yau Ting-han and others, and, wishing to bestow a marquisate on his favorite concubine, Madam Li, appointed Li Kuang-li leader of the campaign, with the title *Īr-shī tsiang-kün* [i. e. General Īr-shī] and ordered him to set out with six thousand cavalry of the feudal states and several hundred thousand men, being recruits selected from the riffraff of the provinces, and to march upon Yüan with the intent of advancing on the city of Īr-shī and taking possession of its superior horses, for which reason he was styled 'General Īr-shī.' Chau Shī-ch'öng was appointed *kün-chöng* [adjutant-general?], the late Marquis of Hau, Wang K'ui, was sent as a guide to the army, and Li Ch'ö was appointed a governor in charge of the army regulations. This happened in the year 104 B. C. (111) And great swarms of locusts arose to the east of the great wall and traveled west as far as Tun-huang. When the army of General Īr-shī had crossed the Salt Lake [Lopnor], the small states on the road were alarmed; they strengthened their city defenses and refused the issue of provisions. Sieges were of no effect. If the cities surrendered, the army would secure provisions; if they did not, it would in the course of a few days retire. When it came to Yü-ch'öng, the Chinese army consisted of not more than a few thousand men, and these were exhausted from lack of food. At the siege of Yü-ch'öng the Chinese troops were utterly routed with great losses in killed and wounded. General Īr-shī with Li Ch'ö, Chau Shī-ch'öng, and others reasoned thus: 'If our drive on Yü-ch'öng ended in failure to take the city, how much less can we advance on the king's capital?' Consequently, after a campaign of two years the army was led back. When it reached Tun-huang only one or two out of every ten soldiers were left. (112) The

general sent a message to the Emperor in which he said: 'Owing to the distance of the expedition we often were short of provisions and our soldiers were troubled not so much by battles as by starvation; their numbers were not sufficient to conquer Yüan.' He proposed for the time being to stop the war and to set out again when better prepared. (113) When the Son of Heaven heard this report he was much incensed and ordered the Yü-mön [Gate] to be closed, saying: 'If any members of the army dare to enter, they shall lose their heads.' Īr-shī was afraid and remained at Tun-huang. (114) That summer [103 B. C.] China had lost more than twenty thousand men of Tso-yé's army against the Hiung-nu. The dukes, ministers, and councils called upon to deliberate all wished to give up the expedition against the army of Yüan and to direct special efforts to attacking the Tartars. (115) The Son of Heaven [thought that] having sent a punitive expedition against Yüan, a small country, without bringing it to terms would cause Ta-hia [Bactria] and the like countries to feel contempt for China, and the superior horses of Yüan would never be forthcoming; also Wu-sun and Lun-t'óu would make light of harassing the Chinese ambassadors, [and China] would thus become the laughing-stock of foreign countries. (116) The Emperor therefore preferred an indictment against Töng Kuang and others who had reported that making war on Yüan was particularly inopportune, [and an army consisting of] ticket-of-leave men and sharpshooters, to whom were added the young riffraff and roughriders of the boundary, was organized within rather more than a year. When it left Tun-huang this army consisted of sixty thousand men, not counting those who followed as carriers of secret supplies of extra provisions; a hundred thousand oxen; more than thirty thousand horses; donkeys, mules, and camels numbering myriads, and a commissariat well stocked with provisions, besides arms and crossbows. All parts of the Empire had to bestir themselves in contributing offerings. (117) In this campaign against Yüan no less than fifty military governors were appointed. In the city of the king of Yüan there were no wells, and the people had to obtain water from a river outside the city, whereupon experts in hydraulics were sent to divert the course of the river, thus depriving the city of water, besides effecting an opening through which the city might be laid open to access. (118) In order to pro-

tect Tsiu-ts'üan, an additional contingent of a hundred eighty thousand frontier troops was stationed in the newly established districts of K'ü-yen and Hiu-chu in the north of Tsiu-ts'üan and Chang-yé. (119) There were further sent the offenders under the seven clauses of the law on minor offenses from the whole empire, as carriers of provisions for the Īr-shī expedition force; wagoners with their carts went in endless lines to Tun-huang; and in anticipation of the defeat of Yüan, two horse-breakers were appointed as equerries [with the rank of] military governors to handle the superior horses to be selected. (120) Thereupon [General] Īr-shī had to march out again, and since he had now more soldiers, the smaller countries he passed through did not fail to welcome him with provisions for his army. When he came to Lun-t'ou, however, that city would not submit, so, after a siege of a few days, it was laid in ruins. After this event the march to the west proceeded without impediment as far as the [outskirts of the] city of Yüan. (121) On its arrival there the Chinese army consisted of thirty thousand men. An army of Yüan gave battle, the victory being gained by the efficiency of the Chinese archery; and this caused the Yüan army to take refuge in their bulwarks and mount the city walls. (122) General Īr-shī wished to attack Yü-ch'öng, but was afraid his detention thereby would allow Yüan to resort to additional stratagems. He therefore went direct to Yüan, cut off the source of its water-supply by diverting the course of the river upon which it depended, and the city was in great straits. Yüan was invested by the Chinese for more than forty days. On battering the outer city wall they captured one of the notables of Yüan, a prominent leader named Tsién-mi.

The people of Yüan became panic-stricken and withdrew into the inner city, where their notables held counsel among themselves, saying: 'The reason why the Chinese make war on us is that our king, Mu-kua,⁷ held back the superior horses and killed the Chinese ambassadors. If we now kill our king, Mu-kua, and surrender the superior horses, the Chinese army will raise the siege; on the other hand, if they do not raise the siege

⁷ According to *Ts'ien-han-shu*, chap. 17, p. 14, Mu-ku, which, according to Yen Shī-ku, appears to be similar in sound to the original western name.

there will be war to the death. It is not yet too late.' The notables of Yüan were all of this opinion. They therefore assassinated their king, Mu-kua, and sent his head to General Īr-shī by their notables, saying: 'If the Chinese will cease making war on us, we will let you have all the superior horses you desire and will supply the Chinese army with provisions; but, if you do not accept our terms, we will kill all the superior horses, and help will soon come from K'ang-kü [Soghdiana]. In that case we should keep within the city, while K'ang-kü would keep outside, fighting against the Chinese army, which ought carefully to consider as to the course it will adopt.' In the meantime K'ang-kü kept watch on the Chinese army, and, this being still numerous, did not dare to attack. General Īr-shī consulted with Chau Shī-ch'öng and Li Ch'ö. It was reported that Yüan had recently secured the services of a Chinese [lit. 'a man of Ts'in'] who knew how to bore wells, and that the city was still well supplied with provisions; that the chief malefactor whom they had come to punish, was Mu-kua, whose head had already come to hand; and that, if under the circumstances they did not raise the siege, Ta-yüan would make strenuous efforts to defend the city, while K'ang-kü would lie in wait until the Chinese were worn out, and then come to the rescue of Yüan, which would mean certain defeat to the Chinese army. The officers of the army agreed with these views. (123) Yüan was allowed to make a treaty. They delivered up their superior horses and permitted the Chinese to make a selection from them, besides furnishing great quantities of provisions for the commissariat. The Chinese army took away several dozens [*shu-shi*, 'several times ten'] of superior horses, besides more than three thousand stallions and mares of inferior quality. (124) They also appointed a notable of Yüan, named Meī-ts'ai, who had formerly treated the Chinese ambassadors well, as king of Yüan, with whose swearing-in the campaign ended. After all, the Chinese were unable to enter the inner city, and, abandoning further action, the army was led back.

(125) When General Īr-shī first started to the west from Tun-huang, the countries *en route* were unable to furnish provisions, owing to the size of his army. He therefore divided it now into several sections, which took the southern and northern routes respectively. The military governor, Wang Shön-shöng,

and the former superintendent of the Colonial Office, Hu Ch'ung-kuo, with more than a thousand men, marched by another route to Yü-ch'öng, whose city head refused the issue of provisions to the army. Wang Shön-shöng, though he was two hundred *li* distant from the main body of the army, reconnoitered, but made light of the situation, while upbraiding the people of Yü-ch'öng. The latter persisted in refusing the issue of provisions and, having ascertained by spies that Wang Shön-shöng's army was becoming reduced in numbers day by day, they one morning attacked the latter with three thousand men, killed Wang Shön-shöng and the other leaders, and routed his army, of which only a few men escaped with their lives to rejoin General Īr-shī and the main army. (126) General Īr-shī now entrusted Special Commissioner of Government Grain Shang-kuan Kié with the investment of Yü-ch'öng, whose king fled to K'ang-kü, pursued thither by Shang-kuan Kié. K'ang-kü had received the news of China's victory over Ta-yüan and delivered the fugitive king to Shang-kuan Kié, who sent him well bound and guarded by four horsemen to the commander-in-chief. On their way these men said to one another: 'The king of Yü-ch'öng is China's bitterest enemy. If we now let him live, he will escape, and then we shall have failed in an important undertaking.' Although wishing to kill him, none of the four dared to strike the first blow, when a cavalry officer of Shang-kui, named Chau Ti, the youngest among them, drew his sword and cut off the king's head. He and Shang-kuan Kié with the king's head then rejoined the commander-in-chief.

(127) When General Īr-shī set out for the second time, the Son of Heaven had sent ambassadors to call upon Wu-sun to send big forces for a joint attack on Ta-yüan. Wu-sun sent only two thousand men, cavalry, wavering between two courses of action and being unwilling to proceed. (128) When the smaller countries through which General Īr-shī passed on his return march to the east heard of the defeat of Ta-yüan, they all sent sons and younger brothers [of their kings] to follow the Chinese army in order to be presented to the Son of Heaven and to be offered as hostages to China. (129) In the campaign under General Īr-shī against Ta-yüan the *Kün-chöng* [Adjutant General?] Chau Shī-ch'öng's chief merit had consisted in vigorous fight-

ing; Shang-kuan Kié had distinguished himself by daring to break into the enemy's lines; Li Ch'ö had acted as adviser in strategical schemes; and when the army passed the Yü-mön Gate there were left of it scarcely more than ten thousand men and a thousand horses. In the second campaign the army had not suffered so much from the scarcity of provisions, nor from losses in battle, as from graft practised by leaders and officers, many of whom filled their pockets without any regard for the welfare of the rank and file, numbers of whom had under these conditions lost their lives. (130) In consideration of the fact that the campaign had to be conducted at a distance of ten thousand *li* from home, the Son of Heaven overlooked these offenses and created Li Kuang-li Marquis of Hai-si; further, he gave the title of Marquis of Sin-ch'i to Chau Ti, the horseman who had beheaded the king of Yü-ch'öng; the *Kün-chöng* [Adjutant General?] Chau Shih-ch'öng was honored by being created a *kuang-lu-ta-fu* [noble of the first grade]; Shang-kuan Kié was made a *shau-fu* [director in the Imperial Household]; Li Ch'ö was appointed prefect of Shang-tang; three of the officers of the army received ministerial posts; and more than a hundred men received appointments as ministers to the feudal states, or as prefects, or [positions with salaries corresponding to] two thousand stones [of rice]. [Positions yielding incomes corresponding to] one thousand stones, or less, were given to a thousand men each; and all acts of bravery were rewarded by official positions exceeding the expectations of the recipients. Former convicts who had gone with the army received no rewards. Soldiers of the rank and file were presented with gifts of the value of forty thousand *kin* [pieces of gold]. (131) Four years were required to finish the entire campaign against Yüan, from its beginning to the second return of the armies.

(132) Rather more than a year after the conquest of Ta-yüan by China, when Meï-ts'ai was invested as king of Ta-yüan, the notables of that country, attributing the reverses of their country to his method of flattering the ambassadors, conspired against Meï-ts'ai, assassinated him, and installed Ch'an-föng, a younger brother of Mu-kua, as king of Yüan. (133) They sent his son as a hostage to China, and China returned a conciliatory mission with presents. (134) China subsequently sent more than ten embassies to the foreign countries west of Ta-yüan,

to collect curiosities and at the same time to impress upon such countries the importance of the victory over Ta-yüan and the establishment of a *tu-yü* [military governor?] at Tsiu-ts'üan in the Tun-huang region.⁸ (135) Westward from here to the Salt Lake [Lopnor] the road at many points was protected by military stations, and in Lun-t'óu there were several hundred soldiers stationed as farmers, the special commissioners in charge of the farms being required to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain for the use of embassies sent abroad.

(136) Concluding remarks of the historian.—It is said in the *Yü-pön-ki*⁹: 'The Ho [i. e. the Yellow River] rises in the K'un-lun, the ascent of which occupies more than two thousand five hundred *li*. [This hill is so high that] the light of sun and moon may be obscured by its shadow. Its summit contains the spring of sweet wine and the pool of jade.' Now, since by the expedition of Chang K'ién to Ta-hia [Bactria] the source of the Yellow River has been traced, we ask, Where do we see the K'un-lun mentioned in the 'Life of Yü'? Indeed, the account of the nine Provinces of the Emperor Yü, with their hills and water-courses, as described in the *Shu-king*, is much nearer the truth. As regards the wonderful tales contained in the 'Life of Yü' and the *Shan-hai-king*, I do not dare to say anything about them.

TEXT

The Chinese text reproduced on the following pages is that of the K'ién-lung edition of 1739 (see page 93).

⁸ The scholiast Sū Kuang here assumes another name (Yüan-ts'üan) to be the correct reading for Tsiu-ts'üan. Yüan-ts'üan, Mr. Leo points out, belonged to the jurisdiction of Tun-huang.

⁹ 'Life of the Emperor Yü,' a work not now otherwise known in Chinese literature, and not mentioned in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Han Dynasty.

史記第一百二十三卷大宛列傳第六十三

大宛之跡見自張騫²張騫漢中人建元中為郎是時天子問匈奴降者皆言匈奴破月氏¹
 王以其頭為飲器月氏遁逃而常怨仇匈奴無與共擊之漢方欲事滅胡聞此言因欲通⁴
 使道必更匈奴中乃募能使者騫以郎應募使月氏與堂邑氏故胡奴甘父俱出隴西經⁵
 匈奴匈奴得之傳詣單于單于留之曰月氏在吾北漢何以得往使吾欲使越漢肯聽我⁶
 乎留騫十餘歲與妻有子然騫持漢節不失居匈奴中益寬騫因其屬亡鄉月氏西走⁷
 數日至大宛大宛聞漢之饒財欲通不得見騫喜問曰若欲何之騫曰為漢使月氏而⁸
 為匈奴所閉道今亡唯王使人導送我誠得至反漢漢之賂遺王財物不可勝言大宛以⁹
 為然遣騫為發導驛抵康居康居傳致大月氏大月氏王已為胡所殺立其太子為王既¹⁰
 臣大夏而居地肥饒少寇志安樂又自以遠漢殊無報胡之心騫從月氏至大夏竟不能¹¹
 得月氏要領留歲餘還並南山欲從羌中歸復為匈奴所得留歲餘單于死左谷蠡王攻¹²

其太子自立國內亂騫與胡妻及堂邑父俱亡歸漢漢拜騫為太中大夫堂邑父為奉使
 君騫為人彊力寬大信人蠻夷愛之堂邑父故胡人善射窮急射禽獸給食初騫行時百
 餘人去十三歲唯二人得還騫身所至者大宛大月氏大夏康居而傳聞其旁大國五六
 具為天子言之曰大宛在匈奴西南在漢正西去漢可萬里其俗土著耕田田稻麥有蒲
 陶酒多善馬馬汗血其先天馬子也有城郭屋室其屬邑大小七十餘城衆可數十萬其
 兵弓矛騎射其北則康居西則大月氏西南則大夏東北則烏孫東則扞罽于寘寘之
 西則水皆西流注西海其東水東流注鹽澤鹽澤潛行地下其南則河源出焉多玉石河
 注中國而樓蘭姑師邑有城郭臨鹽澤鹽澤去長安可五千里匈奴右方居鹽澤以東至
 隴西長城南接羌鬲漢道焉
 烏孫在大宛東北可二千里行國隨畜與匈奴同俗控弦者數萬故戰故服匈奴及盛取
 其羈屬不肯往朝會焉

康居在大宛西北可二千里行國與月氏大同俗控弦者八九萬人與大宛鄰國國小南
 羈事月氏東羈事匈奴

奄蔡在康居西北可二千里行國與康居大同俗控弦者十餘萬臨大澤無崖蓋乃北海

云

大月氏在大宛西可二千里居媯水北其南則大夏西則安息北則康居行國也隨畜

移徙與匈奴同俗控弦者可一二十萬故時彊輕匈奴及冒頓立攻破月氏至匈奴老上

單于殺月氏王以其頭為飲器始月氏居敦煌祁連間及為匈奴所敗乃遠去過宛西擊

大夏而臣之遂都媯水北為王庭其餘小衆不能去者保南山羌號小月氏

安息在大月氏西可數千里其俗土著耕田田稻麥蒲陶酒城邑如大宛其屬小大數百

城地方數千里最為大國臨媯水有市民商費用車及船行旁國或數千里以銀為錢錢

如其王面王死輒更錢效王面焉畫革旁行以為書記其西則條枝北有奄蔡黎軒

條枝在安息西數千里臨西海暑濕耕田田稻有大鳥卵如甕人衆甚多往往有小君長
 而安息役屬之以為外國善眩安息長老傳聞條枝有弱水西王母而未嘗見大夏在
 大宛西南二千餘里媯水南其俗土著有城屋與大宛同俗無大王長往往城邑置小長
 其兵弱畏戰善賈市及大月氏西徙攻敗之皆臣畜大夏大夏民多可百餘萬其都曰藍
 市城有市販賈諸物其東南有身毒國騫曰臣在大夏時見邛竹杖蜀布問曰安得此大
 夏國人曰吾國人往市之身毒身毒在大夏東南可數千里其俗土著大與大夏同而卑
 濕暑熱云其人民乘象以戰其國臨大水焉以騫度之大夏去漢萬二千里居漢西南今
 身毒國又居大夏東南數千里有蜀物此其去蜀不遠矣今使大夏從羌中險羌人惡之
 少北則為匈奴所得從蜀宜徑又無寇天子既聞大宛及大夏安息之屬皆大國多奇物
 土著頗與中國同業而兵弱貴漢財物其北有大月氏康居之屬兵彊可以賂遺設利朝
 也且誠得而以義屬之則廣地萬里重九譯致殊俗威德徧於四海天子欣然以騫言為

然乃令騫因蜀犍為發間使四道並出出駝出冉出徙出卬楚皆各行一二千里其北方
 閉氏徠南方閉雋昆明昆明之屬無君長善寇盜輒殺畧漢使終莫得通然聞其西可千
 餘里有乘象國名曰滇越而蜀賈竅出物者或至焉於是漢以求大夏道始通滇國初漢
 欲通西南夷費多道不通罷之及張騫言可以通大夏乃復事西南夷騫以校尉從大將
 軍擊匈奴知水草處軍得以不乏乃封騫為博望侯是歲元朔六年也其明年騫為衛尉
 與李將軍俱出右北平擊匈奴匈奴圍李將軍軍軍失亡多而騫後期當斬贖為庶人是歲
 漢遣驃騎破匈奴西城數萬人至祁連山其明年渾邪王率其民降漢而金城河西西並
 南山至鹽澤空無匈奴匈奴時有候者到而希矣其後二年漢擊走單于於幕北是後天
 子數問騫大夏之屬騫既失侯因言曰臣居匈奴中聞烏孫王好昆莫昆莫之父匈奴西
 邊小國也匈奴攻殺其父而昆莫生棄於野烏噉肉蜚其上狼往乳之單于怪以為神而
 收長之及壯使將兵數有功單于復以其父之民予昆莫令長守於西城昆莫收養其民

攻旁小邑控弦數萬習攻戰單于死昆莫乃率其衆遠徙中立不肯朝會匈奴⁶⁵匈奴遣奇
 兵擊不勝以為神而遠之因羈屬之不大攻⁶⁶今單于新困於漢而故渾邪地空無人蠻夷
 俗貪漢財物今誠以此時而厚幣賂烏孫招以益東居故渾邪之地與漢結昆弟其勢宜
 聽聽則是斷匈奴右臂也既連烏孫自其西大夏之屬皆可招來而為外臣⁶⁷天子以為然
 拜騫為中郎將將三百人馬各二匹牛羊以萬數齎金幣帛直數千巨萬多持節副使道
 可使使遺之他旁國騫既至烏孫烏孫王昆莫見漢使如單于禮騫大慙知蠻夷貪乃曰
 天子致賜王不拜則還賜昆莫起拜賜其他如故騫⁶⁹諭使指曰烏孫能東居渾邪地則漢
 遣翁主為昆莫夫人烏孫⁷⁰國分王老而遠漢未知其大小素服屬匈奴日久矣且又近之
 其大臣皆畏胡不欲移徙王不能專制騫不得其要領昆莫⁷¹有十餘子其中子曰大祿彊
 善將衆將衆別居萬餘騎大祿兄為太子太子有子曰岑娶而太子蚤死臨死謂其父昆
 莫曰必以岑娶為太子無令他人代之昆莫哀而許之卒以岑娶為太子大祿怒其不得

代太子也乃收其諸昆弟將其衆畔謀攻岑娶及昆莫昆莫老常恐大祿殺岑娶予岑娶
 萬餘騎別居而昆莫有萬餘騎自備國衆分為三而其大總取羈屬昆莫昆莫亦以此不
 敢專約於騫騫⁷²因分遣副使使大宛康居大月氏大夏安息身毒于真扞罽及諸旁國烏
 孫發導譯送騫還騫與烏孫遣使數十人馬數十匹報謝因令窺漢知其廣大騫⁷⁴還到拜
 為大行列於九卿歲餘卒烏孫使既見漢人衆富厚歸報其國其國乃益重漢其後歲餘⁷⁷
 騫所遣使通大夏之屬者皆頗與其人俱來於是西北國始通於漢矣然張騫鑿空其後
 使往者皆稱博望侯以為質於外國外國由此信之自博望侯騫死後匈奴聞漢通烏孫⁷⁸
 怒欲擊之及漢使烏孫若出其南抵大宛大月氏相屬烏孫乃恐使使獻馬願得尚漢女
 翁主為昆弟天子問羣臣議計皆曰必先納聘然後乃遣女初天子發書易云神馬當從⁷⁹
 西北來得烏孫馬好名曰天馬及得大宛汗血馬益壯更名烏孫馬曰西極名大宛馬曰
 天馬云而漢始築令居以西初置酒泉郡以通西北國因益發使抵安息奄蔡黎軒條枝

身毒國而天子好宛馬使者相望於道諸使外國一輩大者數百少者百餘人人所齎持
 大放博望侯時其後益習而衰少焉漢率一歲中使多者十餘少者五六輩遠者八九歲
 近者數歲而反是時漢既滅越而蜀西南夷皆震請吏入朝於是置益州越雋牂牁沈黎
 汶山郡欲地接以前通大夏乃遣使柏始昌呂越人等歲十餘輩出此初郡抵大夏皆復
 閉昆明為所殺奪幣財終莫能通至大夏焉於是漢發三輔罪人因巴蜀士數萬人遣兩
 將軍郭昌衛廣等往擊昆明之遮漢使者斬首虜數萬人而去其後遣使昆明復為寇竟
 莫能得通而北道酒泉抵大夏使者既多而外國益厭漢幣不貴其物自⁸⁵博望侯開外國
 道以尊貴其後從吏卒皆爭上書言外國奇怪利害求使天子為其絕遠非人所樂往聽
 其言予節募吏民毋問所從來為具備人衆遣之以廣其道來還不能毋侵盜幣物及使
 失指天子為其習之輒覆案致重罪以激怒令贖復求使使端無窮而輕犯法其吏卒亦
 輒復盛推外國所有言大者予節言小者為副故妄言無行之徒皆爭效之其使皆貧人

子私縣官齎物欲賤市以私其利外國外國亦厭漢使人人有言輕重度漢兵遠不能至
 而禁其食物以苦漢使漢使乏絕積怨至相攻擊而樓蘭姑師小國耳當空道攻劫漢使
 王恢等尤甚而匈奴奇兵時時遮擊使西國者使者爭徧言外國災害皆有城邑兵弱易
 擊於是天子以故遣從驃侯破奴將屬國騎及郡兵數萬至匈奴水欲以擊胡胡皆去其⁸⁶
 明年擊姑師破奴與輕騎七百餘先至虜樓蘭王遂破姑師因舉兵威以困烏孫大宛之
 屬還封破奴為浞野侯王恢數使為樓蘭所苦言天子天子發兵令恢佐破奴擊破之封
 恢為浩侯於是酒泉列亭鄣至玉門矣烏孫以千匹馬聘漢女漢遣宗室女江都翁主往⁸⁹
 妻烏孫烏孫王昆莫以為右夫人匈奴亦遣女妻昆莫昆莫以為左夫人昆莫曰我老乃⁹⁰
 令其孫岑娶妻翁主烏孫多馬其富人至有四五千匹馬初漢使至安息安息王令將二⁹²
 萬騎迎於東界東界去王都數千里行比至過數十城人民相屬甚多漢使還而後發使
 隨漢使來觀漢廣人以大鳥卵及黎軒善眩人獻於漢及宛西小國驩潛大益宛東姑師

杆罽蘇菴之屬皆隨漢使獻見天子天子大悅而漢使窮河源河源出于冥其山多玉石
 采來天子案古圖書名河所出山曰崑崙云是時上方數巡狩海上乃悉從外國客大都
 多人則過之散財帛以賞賜厚具以饒給之以覽示漢富厚焉於是大穀抵出奇戲諸怪
 物多聚觀者行賞賜酒池肉林令外國客徧觀各倉庫府藏之積見漢之廣大傾駭之及
 加其眩者之工而穀抵奇戲歲增變甚盛益興自此始西北外國使更來更去宛以西皆
 自以遠尚驕恣晏然未可誅以禮羈縻而使也自烏孫以西至安息以近匈奴匈奴困月
 氏也匈奴使持單于一信則國國傳送食不敢留苦及至漢使非出幣帛不得食不市畜
 不得騎用所以然者遠漢而漢多財物故必市乃得所欲然以畏匈奴於漢使焉宛左右
 以蒲陶為酒富人藏酒至萬餘石久者數十歲不敗俗嗜酒馬嗜苜蓿漢使取其實來於
 是天子始種苜蓿蒲陶肥饒地及天馬多外國使來衆則離宮別觀旁盡種蒲陶苜蓿極
 望自大宛以西至安息國雖頗異言然大同俗相知言其人多鬚頗善市賈爭分

銖俗貴女子女子所言而丈夫乃決正其地¹⁰³皆無絲漆不知鑄錢器及漢使亡卒降教鑄
 作他兵器得漢黃白金輒以為器不用為幣而漢使者往既多其少從率多進熟於天子
 言曰宛有善馬在貳師城匿不肯與漢使天子既好宛馬聞之甘心使壯士車令等持千¹⁰⁵
 金及金馬以請宛王貳師城善馬宛國饒漢物相與謀曰漢去我遠而鹽水中數敗出其¹⁰⁷
 北有胡寇出其南乏水草又且往往而絕邑乏食者多漢使數百人為輩來而常乏食死
 者過半是安能致大軍乎無奈我何且貳師馬宛寶馬也遂不肯與漢使漢使怒妄言椎¹⁰⁸
 金馬而去宛貴人怒曰漢使至輕我遣漢使去令其東邊郁成遮攻殺漢使取其財物於¹⁰⁹
 是天子大怒諸嘗使宛姚定漢等言宛兵弱誠以漢兵不過三千人彊弩射之即盡虜破¹¹⁰
 宛矣天子已嘗使浞野侯攻樓蘭以七百騎先至虜其王以定漢等言為然而欲侯寵姬
 李氏拜李廣利為貳師將軍發屬國六千騎及郡國惡少年數萬人以往伐宛期至貳師
 城取善馬故號貳師將軍趙始成為軍正故浩侯王恢使導軍而李哆為校尉制軍事是

歲太初元年也而關東蝗大起蜚西至敦煌貳師將軍軍既西過鹽水當道小國恐各堅¹¹¹
 城守不肯給食攻之不能下下者得食不下者數日則去比至郁成士至者不過數千皆
 饑罷攻郁成郁成大破之所殺傷甚衆貳師將軍與哆始成等計至郁成尚不能舉況至
 其王都乎引兵而還往來二歲還至敦煌士不過什一二使使¹¹²上書言道遠多乏食且士
 卒不患戰患饑人少不足以拔宛願且罷兵益發而復往天子聞之大怒而使使遮玉門¹¹³
 曰軍有敢入者輒斬之貳師恐因留敦煌其¹¹⁴夏漢亡浞野之兵二萬餘於匈奴公卿及議
 者皆願罷擊宛軍專力攻胡¹¹⁵天子已業誅宛宛小國而不能下則大夏之屬輕漢而宛善
 馬絕不來烏孫命頭易苦漢使矣為外國笑乃案言伐宛尤不便者鄧光等赦囚徒材官¹¹⁶
 益發惡少年及邊騎歲餘而出燉煌者六萬人負私從者不與牛十萬馬三萬餘匹驢騾¹¹⁷
 橐駝以萬數多齎糧兵弩甚設天下騷動傳相奉伐宛¹¹⁷凡五十餘校尉宛王城中無井皆
 汲城外流水於是乃遣水工徙其城下水空以空其城益發¹¹⁸戍甲卒十八萬酒泉張掖北

置居延休屠以衛酒泉而發天下七科適及載糒給貳師轉車人徒相連屬至燉煌而拜
 習馬者二人為執驅校尉備宛擇取其善馬云於是貳師後復行兵多而所至小國莫
 不迎出食給軍至命頭命頭不下攻數日屠之自此而西平行至宛城漢兵到者三萬人
 宛兵迎擊漢兵漢兵射敗之宛走入葆乘其城貳師¹²²兵欲行攻郁成恐留行而令宛益生
 詐乃先至宛決其水源移之則宛固已憂困圍其城攻之四十餘日其外城壞虜宛貴人
 勇將煎靡宛大恐走入中城宛貴人相與謀曰漢所為攻宛以王母寡匿善馬而殺漢使
 今殺王母寡而出善馬漢兵宜解即不解乃力戰而死未晚也宛貴人皆以為然共殺其
 王母寡持其頭遣貴人使貳師約曰漢毋攻我我盡出善馬恣所取而給漢軍食即不聽
 我盡殺善馬而康居之救且至至我居內康居居外與漢軍戰漢軍熟計之何從是時康
 居候視漢兵漢兵尚盛不敢進貳師與趙始成李哆等計聞宛城中新得秦人知穿井而
 其肉食尚多所為來誅首惡者母寡母寡頭已至如此而不許解兵則堅守而康居候漢

罷而來救宛破漢軍必矣軍吏皆以為然許宛之約宛乃出其善馬令漢自擇之而多出¹²³
 食食給漢軍漢軍取其善馬數十匹中馬以下牡牝三千餘匹而立宛貴人之故待遇漢¹²⁴
 使善者名昧蔡以為宛王與盟而罷兵終不得入中城乃罷而引歸初貳師起燉煌西以¹²⁵
 為人多道上國不能食乃分為數軍從南北道校尉王申生故鴻臚壺充國等千餘人別
 到郁成郁成城守不肯給食其軍王申生去大軍二百里偵而輕之責郁成郁成食不肯
 出窺知申生軍日少晨用三千人攻戮殺申生等軍破數人脫亡走貳師貳師令搜粟都¹²⁶
 尉上官桀往攻破郁成郁成王亡走康居桀追至康居康居聞漢已破宛乃出郁成王予
 桀桀令四騎士縛守詣大將軍四人相謂曰郁成王漢國所毒今生將去卒失大事欲殺
 莫敢先擊上邽騎士趙弟最少拔劍擊之斬郁成王齋頭弟桀等逐及大將軍初貳師後¹²⁷
 行天子使使告烏孫大發兵并力擊宛烏孫發二千騎往持兩端不肯前貳師將軍之東¹²⁸
 諸所過小國聞宛破皆使其子弟從軍入獻見天子因為質焉貳師之伐宛也而軍正¹²⁹

趙始成力戰功最多及上官桀敢深入李哆為謀計軍入玉門者萬餘人軍馬千餘匹貳師後行軍非乏食戰死不能多而將吏貪多不愛士卒侵奪之以此物故衆天子為萬里而伐宛不錄過封廣利為海西侯又封身斬郁成王者騎士趙弟為新時侯軍正趙始成為光祿大夫上官桀為少府李哆為上黨太守軍官吏為九卿者三人諸侯相郡守二千石者百餘人千石以下千餘人奮行者官過其望以適過行者皆絀其勞士卒賜直四萬金伐宛再反凡四歲而得罷焉漢已伐宛立昧蔡為宛王而去歲餘宛貴人以為昧蔡善¹³¹諛使我國過屠乃相與殺昧蔡立母寡昆弟曰蟬封為宛王而遣其子入質於漢漢因使¹³²使賂賜以鎮撫之而漢發使十餘輩至宛西諸外國求奇物因風覽以伐宛之威德而燉煌置酒泉都尉西至鹽水往往有亭而命頭有田卒數百人因置使者護田積粟以給使¹³³

外國者

太史公曰焉本紀言河出崑崙崑崙其高二千五百餘里日月所相避隱為光明也其上¹³⁶

有醴泉瑤池今自張騫使大夏之後也窮河源惡睹本紀所謂崑崙者乎故言九州山川尚書近之矣至禹本紀山海經所有怪物余不敢言之也

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS

B. C.

- 176 Mau-tun, Great Khan (Shan-yü) of the Hiung-nu, defeats the Yüé-chi for the second time (*Shi-ki*, chap. 110, p. 13; cf. Shiratori, p. 115, and Franke, p. 13).
- 165 (according to Klaproth; but doubtful, according to Shiratori, p. 115). Lau-shang, Mau-tun's successor, annihilates the Yüé-chi, kills their king, and makes a drinking-cup out of his skull. The Yüé-chi flee to the west, and first
- 164 (?) settle down near Lake Issyk-kul, driving out the Sak-wang (Saka princes?), called also Sak-chung (Saka tribes? the character for *Sak* being modern *Sai*; see Giles, no. 9541¹⁰). The Sak-wang, according to *Ts'ién-han-shu* (chap. 96 A, p. 10 B), migrated south and became rulers in Ki-pin (Kashmir), and the Sak-chung were scattered about and settled in several other states. The scholiast Yen Shī-ku (7th cent. A. D.) identified these Sak-chung with the Shak-chung (*Shak* = modern *shī*, the character used in the transcription for *Śakya-muni Buddha*, Giles, no. 9983) of the Buddhists. My present personal view, which however may ultimately prove quite untenable, is that the Sak princes and the Sak tribes driven away by the Yüé-chi near Lake Issyk-kul may have been an eastern branch of that great Saka family of whom Herodotus (7. 64) says: *οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλοῦσι Σάκας*; in other words, that they were eastern Scyths, the term 'Scyth' being explainable as having originated from an old plural *sak-ut*, 'the Sakas.' However, this may be all wrong. There was at least one Chinese scholar in the sixth century who held quite different views, though my Chinese friend, Mr. T. Y. Leo, does not regard him highly

¹⁰ The Cantonese and, therefore, probable ancient sound of this character is *sak*, and not *sōk*, as Franke, p. 47, transcribes it, apparently on the strength of Parker's adoption, in Giles's Dictionary, of Wade's *ê* (= *ō*) in lieu of *a*, in many of his renderings of Cantonese sounds. The character for our *sai* is correctly described as *sak* on p. 795 of Eitel-Genähr's *Dictionary of the Cantonese Dialect*, as well as in Williams's and all other Cantonese dictionaries.

as an authority; still his theory, of which I distinctly disclaim any indorsement, deserves to be mentioned. Sün Tsi, whose biography has been preserved in *Pei-shi* (chap. 83, p. 10), offended the religious feelings of Wu-ti of the Liang dynasty (502-549 A. D.) by his criticisms of the Emperor's lavish devotion to Buddhist ceremonial, and fled to the Weï dominions in order to save his head. In his 'Memorial on Buddhism' (*Lun-fo-kiau-piau*) he discusses the term 'Sak-chung' of the *Ts'ién-han-shu*. These Sak tribes, he says, were originally the barbarians of the Yün clan (Giles, no. 13,844), who at the time lived in Tun-huang, were driven out by the Yüé-chi, and on their flight came to the south of the Tsung-ling (see Sū Sung's commentary on the Saka passage in the *Ts'ién-han-shu*).

In tracing this Yün clan back to its origin, as represented in Chinese literature, we have to refer them to those non-Chinese races who, according to legendary tradition, once lived within the dominions of the model emperors Yau and Shun (about the 23d century B. C.) and were banished to the distant border as being unfit to live with the more civilized Chinese. According to the *Tso-chuan* (9th year of Duke Ch'au = 533 B. C.), the Yün clan is connected with T'au-wu, one of the 'Four Wicked Ones' banished by Shun (cf. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 85 f.). For 'the ancient kings located T'aou-wuh in (one of) the four distant regions to encounter the sprites and other evil things, and so it was that the villains of the surname Yun dwelt in Kwa-chow' (Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso-chuen*, p. 625; cf. also *T'ung-tién*, chap. 189, p. 3, and Sū Sung's *Sì-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 3, p. 8 B seq.). If this tradition were more than a mere prehistorical legend, we might be led to assume that Sū Sung's commentary considered the Sak tribes expelled by the Yüé-chi near Lake Issyk-kul as belonging to the stock of Tangut or Tibetan nations, rather than to the Scythians of Herodotus.

- 160 (approximately; see Shiratori, p. 117, and Franke, p. 15). The Wu-sun, formerly under Hiung-nu rule near Kua-chóu, move to the west, drive out the Yüé-chi, and occupy their territory near Lake Issyk-kul, shaking off allegiance to the Hiung-nu.

- 145 (?) Ssī-ma Ts'ién born (Chavannes, 1. xxiv).
140 Wu-ti becomes Emperor of China.
138 Chang K'ién leaves China on a mission to the Yüé-chī and is made a prisoner by the Hiung-nu.
128 Chang K'ién escapes, reaches the court of the Yüé-chī via Ta-yüan and K'ang-kü, and spends a year in Ta-hia (Bactria).
127 Chang K'ién returns and, traveling along the northern slope of the Nan-shan, is again detained by the Hiung-nu near Lake Lopnor.
126 Chang K'ién again escapes and arrives in China with a report of his discoveries, acquainting the Chinese of the existence of powerful countries in western Asia, including India, and the alleged source of the Yellow River near Khotan.
123 Chang K'ién created Marquis of Po-wang.
122 Chang K'ién degraded.
121 The young general Ho K'ü-ping defeats the Hiung-nu (see Chavannes, 1. lxvii).
115 Chang K'ién's mission to Wu-sun, whence he details sub-ambassadors to various countries including India (?). About a year after his return
114 Chang K'ién dies.
113 Chang K'ién's sub-ambassadors return to China with natives of Western Asia.
112 War against Yüé (South China). Attempts made to reach India by a direct route.
111-110 Ssī-ma Ts'ién's sojourn in the southwest, where he may have become familiar with the K'un-ming and other tribes.
110 Death of Ssī-ma T'an, Ssī-ma Ts'ién's father.
108 Chau Po-nu defeats the hitherto refractory kingdoms of Lóu-lan and Ku-shī.
106 A line of military stations established west of the Great Wall at Yü-mön. The road to Ta-yüan opened to traffic. The Son of Heaven seeks to procure from Ta-yüan the superior horses kept at the city of Īr-shī (Nish, Uratube). The sale of them is refused, and the Chinese ambassador is killed at Yü-ch'öng, east of Ta-yüan.

- 104 Li Kuang-li appointed leader of a campaign against Ta-yüan to enforce the sale of the Īr-shī horses.
- 103 Li Kuang-li, returning without having reached Ta-yüan, is forbidden to enter China and ordered to form a new army at the Great Wall.
- 102 Li Kuang-li's second campaign against Ta-yüan.
- 101 Ta-yüan, defeated, becomes a tributary state of China.
- 100 Mei-ts'ai superseded as king of Ta-yüan by Mu-kua's brother, Ch'an-fōng. Since *after* this time the *Shi-ki* speaks of 'more than ten embassies' having been sent to the west (§ 134), it seems as though a number of years at least elapsed before Ssī-ma Ts'ién ceased to work on it.
- 98 Ssī-ma Ts'ién disgraced (see Chavannes, l. xxxvi-xl).
- 87 Death of Wu-ti, whose posthumous title (Wu-ti) is not used by Ssī-ma Ts'ién. The latter must, therefore, have died (or abandoned work?) before that year (Chavannes, l. xlv).

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(It appears that about a hundred years ago a dilapidated monument existed among the hills on the south shore of Lake Issyk-kul. When Sung-yün (died in 1835, cf. Giles, *Biogr. Dict.* no. 1843), as Governor of Ili, heard of its existence, he ordered one of his military officers to have a rubbing made of the inscription on it. This shows a number of characters which, as they are taken out of their context and placed on record in Sü Sung's *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 5, p. 8 B, give no sense whatever. The natives were said to call the monument 'Chang K'ien's Tablet.' Sü Sung, in spite of repeated inquiries, did not find a trace of it.)

CHANG-YĒ, district on western boundary, 118.

CHAU PO-NU, general, sent against the Hiung-nu, 86; captures King of Lōu-lan and defeats Ku-shĭ, 87; created Marquis of Tso-yé, 87, 114; losses against the Hiung-nu, 114.

- CHAU SHI-CH'ÖNG, general, appointed to serve under Li Kuang-li, 110, 111; consulted by Li Kuang-li at siege of city of Ta-yüan, 122; distinguished by vigorous fighting, 129; ennobled as *kuang-lu-ta-fu*, 130.
- CHAU TI, a cavalry officer who beheaded the king of Yü-ch'öng, 126; created Marquis of Sin-ch'ü, 130.
- CHIEFS, petty, *see* GOVERNMENT, FORM OF.
- CHINA, not unknown by reputation to countries of Western Asia (Ta-yüan), 7; Bactria and Parthia compared with, in point of greatness, wealth, and civilization, 54; sphere of influence of, in Western Asia suggested by Chang K'ien, 54; did not extend west of Ta-yüan, 97; produce of, coveted by Western Asiatics, 54; slackened demand for produce of, 84, 85; deserters from, settle in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 103.
- CH'Ö LING, a turfman (?), sent to buy horses in Ta-yüan, 106.
- CITY DWELLERS, in Ta-yüan, 19, 20; in An-si, 31, 54; in Ta-hia, 47, 53; in Shön-tu, 53; in China, 54; *see also* NOMAD NATIONS.
- COINS, Parthian, 36; none between Ta-yüan and An-si (doubtful, *see* IRON), 103.
- COMMISSARIAT, *see* PROVISIONS; MILITARY GOVERNORS.
- CONSORT, right and left, the latter being superior in rank [cf. the left Lukli prince, 12], 90.
- CONVICT REGIMENTS formed in dangerous campaigns, 82; in second campaign against Ta-yüan, 116, 119.
- CURIOSITIES collected in the Far West by ambassadors, 134.
- DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, demoralized, 85; for missions to the West *see* CHANG K'ien; ENVOYS; PO-WANG.
- DISTANCES from the Hiung-nu to Ta-yüan several tens of days, 7; Chang-an to Salt Lake 5000 *li*, 23; Wu-sun 2000 *li* northeast of Ta-yüan, 25; K'ang-kü 2000 *li* northwest of Ta-yüan, 27; An-ts'ai 2000 *li* northwest of K'ang-kü, 28; Yüé-chi 2000 or 3000 *li* west of Ta-yüan, 29; An-si several thousand *li* west of Yüé-chi, 30; Li-kan and T'iau-chi several thousand *li* west of An-si, 39; Ta-hia more than 2000 *li* southwest of Ta-yüan, 46; Shön-tu several thousand *li* southeast of Ta-hia, 53; Ta-hia 12,000 *li* southwest of China, 53. (Note that the *li* in countries west of Ta-yüan should be held to correspond to a stadium.)
- ELEPHANTS, used in war, 53; used in a country southwest of China, 57.
- ENGINEERS, hydraulic, attached to the army against Ta-yüan to cut off water supply of city, 117; Chinese, able to bore wells, 122.
- ENVOYS, assistant, to accompany Chang K'ien to Wu-sun, 67; sent by Chang K'ien to the several countries of the west, 72, some of whom return with natives of the west, 77; regular missions to An-si, An-ts'ai, Li-kan, T'iau-chi, and Shön-tu, 79; sent by way of Yünnan, intercepted, robbed and killed by K'un-ming tribes, 81-83; cheated and ill-treated in foreign countries, incite government to take action, 85; coming and going of, more and more frequent, 96; failed to make impression on the proud nations of the west, 97; Chinese, at a disadvantage as compared with Hiung-nu, 98; inexperienced, make false reports, 104; intercepted and killed at Yü-ch'öng, 109; deserving army officers

appointed as, to feudal states, 130; sent to Ta-yüan acknowledging election of new king, 133; to collect curiosities, 134; *see also* CHANG K'ÏÉN. EXPEDITIONS, exploring, to Western Asia, *see* CHANG K'ÏÉN; in the direction of India, 55; to Wu-sun, 67, *see also* WU-SUN; CARAVANS; ENVOYS.

FERGHANA, *see* TA-YÜAN.

FÖNG-SHI-KÜN, title given to Kan Fu, 13.

GENERALS serving in campaign against Ta-yüan, relative merits of, 129; rewards bestowed on, 130.

GOLD sent to Wu-sun as a gift, 67; to Ta-yüan for purchase of horses, 106; *see also* METALS.

GOVERNMENT, form of:—

Kings: Hiung-nu, *see* SHAN-YÜ; Ta-yüan, 8, 106 *et passim*; Yüé-chi, 10, 29; Wu-sun, *see* K'UN-MO; An-si, 36.

Petty chiefs (city government): T'iau-chi, 43; Ta-hia, 48.

Satraps: *see* HUN-SHÖ.

Barbarians: 55-58.

GRAFT, in army administration, 129; rewards bestowed in spite of, 130.

GRAPES, *see* WINE.

GREAT WALL, in Lung-si, 24; at Ling-kü, built to protect trade to the west, 79.

GUIDES, 8, 73.

HAI TRIBES, prevent expedition to India, 56.

HAI-SI, Marquis of, *see* LI KUANG-LI.

HALBERDS in Ta-yüan, 21.

HAN-CHUNG, Chang K'ien born in, 2.

HAN-HÜÉ, 'sweating blood,' said of a superior breed of horses (possibly a transcription of some foreign sound), 19, 79.

HAN-MI, small country east of Ta-yüan, 22; assistant envoys sent to, 72; sends tribute, 92.

HIU-CHU, district, 118.

HIUNG-NU (Huns) living under Chinese rule as prisoners (?) furnish information about the Yüé-chi (Indoscythians), 3; territory of, between China and Yüé-chi, 4; Great Khan of, tries to mislead Chang K'ien as to whereabouts of the Yüé-chi, 5; their 'Luk-li' prince occupies throne, 12; western division of, between Salt Lake and the Great Wall, 24; politically influence K'ang-kü, 27; impediment to northern road to India, 53; Chang K'ien familiar with their pasture grounds in campaign against, 58; campaign against, under Li Kuang in 122 B. C., 59; under Ho K'ü-ping, 60; a prince of the western, tenders his allegiance to China in 121 B. C., 61; his population forced to retreat to the north in 119 B. C., 61, 66; kill chief of Wu-sun and expose heir to throne in wilderness, 62; the prince, on attaining maturity, frees himself from allegiance to, and withdraws with his Wu-sun people to the distant west, 64; intercept westbound envoys, 85; driven away by Chau Po-nu, 86; give one of their princesses in marriage to King of Wu-sun, 90; harass the Yüé-chi as far as An-si, 98; their ambassadors to the west treated

better en route than those of the Chinese, 98; would threaten a Chinese army marching to the west, 107; Chau Po-nu beaten by, 114; *see also* CHANG K'ÉN; HUNS; SHAN-YÜ; YÜÉ-CHĪ.

HIUNG-NU RIVER, 86.

HO K'Ü-PING (leader against the Hiung-nu), his campaign of 122 B. C., 60. (He died at the age of 24 in 117 B. C., and his tomb, ornamented by the oldest specimen of stone sculpture of a horse we possess on Chinese soil, was recently discovered by the French archeological mission of 1914. *See Journal Asiatique*, 11. sér. 5. 471 ff.)

HO RIVER, supposed to pass through Lopnor, 23; its imaginary source near Khotan, 93; legendary accounts of *Shu-king* regarding, confirmed by Chang K'ien's discovery, 136.

HORSES in Ta-yüan (Ferghana), 19; sent as gift to China from Wu-sun, 73, 78; importation of, from the west led to regular caravan trade, 79; classification and nomenclature, 79; a thousand, sent as a marriage gift by Wu-sun, 90; rich men in Wu-sun own four or five thousand, 91; kept at the city of ĩr-shĭ, 105-108; horse-breakers appointed to accompany army against Ta-yüan, 119; two breeds of, being taken away by the victorious Chinese from the capital of Ta-yüan indicates that the more precious animals had been imported there from some other place, 123; *see also* ĩR-SHĪ.

HO-SI (in modern Kan-su), 61.

HOSTAGES to Chinese court, small countries send princes as, with the returning victorious army, 128; son of king of Ta-yüan one of the, 133.

HU, *see* TARTARS.

HUAN, small country west of Ta-yüan, 92.

HUANG-HO, *see* Ho RIVER.

HU CH'UNG-KUO, leader in an expedition against Yü-ch'öng, 125.

HUNS, identified with the Hiung-nu. (See Hirth, "Ueber Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu," *Sb. d. philos.-philol. Kl. d. Kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. München*, 1900, pp. 245-278.)

HUN-SHÖ (thus transcribed on the strength of a *tsi-lan* scholium in *T'ung-kién-kang-mu*, 4, p. 124; = Chavannes' *hoen-sié*), prince, chief of the western Hiung-nu, tenders his allegiance to China, 61; his territory deserted, 66, 69.

I-CHÓU, modern Yün-nan-fu, 80. (This is Marco Polo's *Yachi*, which name Yule, 3d ed., 2. 67, connects with this *I-chóu* of the Han dynasty. He should have noted, however, that the second syllable *chóu* in all probability did not form part of the aboriginal name, and that the old sound of the first syllable must have been *yik*.)

I-KING, *see* 'BOOK OF CHANGES.'

INDIA, *see* SHÖN-TU.

INDOSCYTHIANS, *see* YÜÉ-CHĪ.

INDUS, river of Shön-tu, 53.

INTERPRETERS, 54, 73.

IRON, none between Ta-yüan and An-si (?), 103.

ĪR-SHĪ. The old sound of these two syllables was most probably either

ish or *nish*. The modern sound of the character for the first syllable, now pronounced *ir*, is *ni* in five of its combinations with certain radicals according to Chalmers, *K'ang-hi*, p. 28 f., the best authority as regards the correct description of sounds by the Chinese method, and, since the omission of radicals in ancient texts is by no means unknown (see the examples, to which I may add others referred to by me in *JAOS* 30. 27), I do not hesitate to look upon *nish* as a possible equivalent in its ancient sound for modern *ir-shī*. I am, therefore, inclined to fall in with de Lacouperie's proposition (*Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, pp. 220 and 224; cf. also K. Shiratori, quoted in Dr. T. Fujita's paper 'The Castle Kwei-shan in Ta-yuan kuo and the Royal Court of Yüeh shih' in the *Journal of the Japanese Oriental Society*, 6. 194 f.) to connect this name *Nish* with the home of the celebrated Nisean horses of classical lore. Though located by Herodotus on 'a large plain in Medic territory,' later classical authors (see Heinrich Stein in a footnote to the Nisean horse passage in his edition of *Herodotus*, 7. 40) name different localities much farther east. Pliny (6. 113) speaks of 'regio Nisiaea Parthyenes,' and Stein continues in his footnote: 'Noch östlicher haftete der Name an den Hochthälern des Murghâb (Margos), dem in Vendid. 1. 26 erwähnten "Niçâya welches zwischen Môuru (Merv) und Bâksdi (Balkh) liegt"; während nach einer unsicheren Notiz bei Hesych.V. Νησαίος ἵππους und Suid. ἵππος νησαῖος jene Pferde in der zwischen Sogdiana und Baktriana gelegenen Landschaft Καραστρώνα (ἄπερ Ἑλλάδι γλώσση νῆσος) heimisch waren. Ritter, Erdk. 9. 364, findet sie in der turkomannischen Zucht der Atak, die noch heute durch ganz Persien wegen ihrer Grösse, Ausdauer und Schnelligkeit selbst vor der arabischen Race ausgezeichnet ist, und deren edle Zucht wohl zum Teil in einigen Stutereien der Perser-Monarchen in den medischen Hochebenen eingeführt werden konnte.' Could not this be the *ir-shī* of the *Shi-ki*? It looks almost as if the multiplicity of regions which, like the cities claiming the privilege of being the birthplace of Homer, are named as producers of the best horses the world could boast of at the time, can be easily explained, if we allow some Persian, Parthian, or Soghdian proper name like *Nish*, Grecianized into *Νησαία*, etc., had in the course of centuries grown into a technical term, designating at different periods the chief claimant for horse breeding *par excellence*. Modern dictionaries furnish what may be almost looked upon as an analogy to this process in the term 'Tattersall's,' once the famous horse-market in London, which has since become a designation of large horse-markets in all countries. It seems that by following up Ritter's proposition we may be allowed to locate the "Tattersall's" of the *Shi-ki* pretty near the city of Ta-yüan, possibly on Ta-yüan territory itself. We may thus arrive at a compromise between de Lacouperie's view, rejected by Chavannes, and that of Chavannes, who refers us (p. xlv, note) to the Chinese identification, made in the 7th century A. D., when tradition may still have been alive, of the city of *ir-shī* with the Osrushna of Buddhist travelers, i. e. the present city of Uratube, about a hundred miles east of Samarkand.

'ÏR-SHI, GENERAL,' title bestowed on Li Kuang-li, q. v.

JADESTONE found on hills near Khotan, 23, 93.

JAN, hill tribe, 55.

JO-SHUI (the 'weak water,' *ὕδωρ ἀσθενές*, a legendary river or lake, placed by the Chinese near the supposed western terminus of the world), 45.

JUGGLERS, in T'iau-chi, 44; of Li-kan brought as tribute by Parthians to China, 92; become popular in China, 95.

KAN FU, Chang K'ien's Tartar (Hiung-nu?) companion, 4; returned with Chang K'ien, 12; given a title, 13; his personality, 15; an excellent bowman, 15.

K'ANG-KÜ (Soghdiana), connected by postal roads with Ta-yüan (Fergana), conveys Chang K'ien to the Yüé-chi, 9; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the north of Ta-yüan, 22; northwest of, and continuous with, Ta-yüan, 27; nomads, under political influence of Yüé-chi and Hiung-nu, 27; in the north of Yüé-chi, 29; small, 27, but strong in military, 54; assistant envoy sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; an ally of Ta-yüan, 122; Chinese troops advance as far as, when the fugitive king of Yü-ch'öng is delivered to them, 126.

KHOTAN, *see* YÜ-TIEN.

K'IANG (Tangutans), 12; southern neighbors of western Hiung-nu; cut off road to China, 24; remnants of Yüé-chi take refuge with, 29; on way to India, 53.

KIANG-TU, Princess of, given in marriage to old king of Wu-sun, who marries her to his grandson, 90.

KIEN-WEI (= Sū-chóu-fu), starting-point of exploring expedition to find India, 55.

K'I-LIEN-SHAN, hill near old seats of Yüé-chi, 29, 60. (The tomb, recently discovered, of the young general Ho K'ü-ping is supposed to resemble this hill in shape. *See* illustration in *Journal Asiatique*, 11. sér. 5. 472. Regarding the location of this hill *see* Shiratori, p. 103 f.)

KIN, lit. gold, money, 130.

KIN-CH'ÖNG (Lan-chóu-fu), 61.

KIUNG, district in Ssi-ch'uan (= Kiung-chóu), bamboo from, 53; a starting-point on the road to India, 55.

KUANG-LU-TA-FU, title of nobility, 130.

K'UI-SHUI = the Oxus, 29, 34, 46.

KÜN-CHÖNG = adjutant general (?), 110, 129, 130.

K'UN-LUN, name of a hill occurring in old books as that where the Ho, or Yellow River, rises, given to hills near Khotan by Chinese ambassadors, 93, 94, 136. (*See* Franke, p. 33 f.)

K'UN-MING TRIBES (in south-west of Sū-chóu-fu), given to robbery, 56; prevent expedition to India, 56; to Bactria, 81-83.

K'UN-MO, title of the King of Wu-sun, 62; *see also* WU-SUN. (Regarding the many attempts at the etymology of the term, *see* Shiratori, p. 136.)

KUO CH'ANG, general sent against the K'un-ming tribes in 109 B. C., 82.

KU-SHI, a city on the banks of the Salt Lake, 23; as a thoroughfare to the West interferes with Chinese missions, 85; battle of, in 108 B. C. raises the prestige of the Chinese in Wu-sun and the farther West, 87; sends tribute to China, 92.

KÜ-YEN, district, 118.

LAN-CHÓU-FU = Kin-ch'öng, 61.

LANG, title of an officer in the imperial household, a yeoman (?), 2, 4. (See Chavannes, *Les Mémoires*, 2. 201, n. 1; it seems that the holder of this otherwise indefinable title was exempt from taxes, cf. Chavannes, 3. 552, n. 4; but cf. also an essay under *lang-kün* in *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 10, p. 12 f. Perhaps a term like the German *Junker* in *Kammer-junker*.)

LANGUAGES and dialects between Ta-yüan and An-si, 101.

LAN-SHI, capital of Ta-hia, 51.

LAU-SHANG, Great Khan of the Hiung-nu, 29.

LI, the Chinese mile (equivalent to about 3 stadia, but corresponding in Western Asia to the stadium of classical authors; see *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 222 ff.), 18, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 46, 53.

LIANG-CHÓU-FU, see LING-KÜ.

LI CH'Ö, general under Li Kuang-li in the campaign against Ta-yüan, 110, 111; consulted by Li Kuang-li at siege of city of Ta-yüan, 122; strategical adviser, 129; appointed prefect of Shang-tang, 130.

LI FU-JÖN, Madam Li, favorite concubine of the Emperor Wu-ti, sister of the general Li Kuang-li, 110.

LI-KAN (called Ta-ts'in in later records), 39; regular traffic with, 79, 92. (A designation of Syria under Antiochus VI, whose army had invaded Parthia with ill success in 129 B. C., not long before the arrival at the court of the Yüé-chi of Chang K'ien and who may have merely transmitted the information on countries not visited by him in person; I am in doubt as to the identity of the name and abandon the idea of Rekem, or Petra.)

LI KUANG (a general in many campaigns against the Hiung-nu), Chang K'ien's chief in 122 B. C., 59.

LI KUANG-LI, appointed generalissimo in the campaign against Ta-yüan, receives the title 'General Ir-shi,' in anticipation of his forcing the city of Ir-shi (Nish?) to deliver the celebrated horses named after it and said by Ta-yüan to be withheld there, 110; despite great hardships reaches eastern frontier of Ta-yüan and returns, having lost the greater part of his army, 111; reports his failure, 112; forbidden to return home, remains at Tun-huang, 113; his second campaign, 120-131; created Marquis of Hai-si, 130.

LING-KÜ (Liang-chóu-fu), great wall at, 79.

LOCUSTS devastate country when Chinese army starts against Ta-yüan, 111.

LOPNOR, see SALT LAKE.

LÓU-LAN, a city on the banks of the Salt Lake, 23; a thoroughfare to the West, interferes with Chinese missions, 85; king of, captured in 108 B. C., 87, 110.

LUCERNE, *see* MU-SU.

LUK-LI (= perhaps some derivative of Uigur. *uluk*, 'erhaben, gross,' Radloff, *Wb.* 1693?), title of a Hiung-nu prince, 12. The first character, usually standing for *ku*, 'valley,' is to be read *luk* ad hoc. Chalmers, *K'ang-hi*, p. 441 B; *K'ang-hi*, Rad. 150, 1.

LUNG-SI (= modern Kan-su), 4, 24.

LUN-T'ÖU, a city on the road to the West, able to harass Chinese expeditions, 115; laid in ruins for refusing provisions to Chinese army, 120; soldier farmers stationed at, to hoard up provisions for embassies, 135. (Cf. Éd. Biot. 'Mémoire sur les colonies militaires et agricoles des Chinois,' in *Journ. Asiatique*, 4. sér. 15. 341 f.)

LU-YÜE-JÖN, unsuccessful leader of caravans to Bactria, 81.

MAEOTIS, Palus, *see* AN-TS'AI.

MANG, hill tribe, 55.

MARKETS, in An-si, 35; in Ta-hia, 51.

MAU-TUN, Great Khan of the Hiung-nu, 29.

MEDICAGO SATIVA, *see* MU-SU.

MEI-TS'AI (possibly some such name as *Moas*, or *Mauas*, which appears on Saka coins in India, cf. A. Cunningham, 'Coins of the Sakas' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 10, 3d ser., p. 103 ff., of whom the man called Mei-ts'ai may be a namesake, though certainly not the identical king, whose coins were found chiefly in the neighborhood of Taxila), king of Ta-yüan, succeeding Mu-kua, 124; killed by his people for being too friendly to China, 132.

METALS, melting of, taught by Chinese deserters in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 103. (Cf. an essay on the technicalities of this passage in *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, pp. 8 and 9.)

MIGRATIONS of the Wu-sun from original seats among Hiung-nu east of Lopnor to distant west, 62-65; *see also* YÜE-CH'.

MILITARY GOVERNORS, special (*kiau-yü*), appointed for the army against Ta-yüan, 117; appointed as horse-breakers to conduct horses from Ta-yüan, 119; (*tu-yü*) appointed after the war to reside in Tsiu-ts'üan, 134.

MINISTERS, of State, high rank in civil service, 74; appointed for army service, 130.

MU-KUA (or Mu-ku), King of Ta-yüan, responsible for trouble with China, sacrificed by his people and succeeded by Mei-ts'ai, who was friendly to the Chinese, 122; his younger brother made king by his people, 132.

MUMMERS, 95.

MU-SU, the Emperor Wu-ti covers large tracts of land with *mu-su* as fodder for his horses, 100. (Canton dial. *muk-suk*, i. e. the lucerne, *medicago sativa*, probably the transcription of some foreign word, like Turkish *burchak*, if we allow for a change the word may have undergone from the original meaning within the last two thousand years. For *burchak*, of which the old Chinese sound *muk-suk* would be quite possible as a transcription, now denotes another seed plant used for fodder, the vetch, according to Radloff, *Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, 4, col. 1832: *Kara burchak*, 'die Wicke (vicia).')

NAN-SHAN, a range of hills separating Tibet from Eastern Turkestan, and its continuation towards the east, 12, 29, 61.

NISH, *see* ʾN-SHĪ.

NOMAD NATIONS: Wu-sun, 25; K'ang-kü, 27; An-ts'ai, 28; Yüé-chi, 29. Cf. CITY DWELLERS.

'NORTHERN SEA,' term applied to the Great Marsh (*Palus Maeotis*), 28.

NOTABLES (*Kui-jön*), the real power in Ta-yüan, 109 *et passim*.

ORACLE consulted, *see* 'BOOK OF CHANGES.'

ORDU, Western, of the Hiung-nu, the Wu-sun leader (K'un-mo) made governor of, 64; conquered by the Chinese, 60; *see also* Ho K'Ü-PING.

OSTRICH, the, in T'iau-chi, 42; eggs of the, brought to China by Parthians, 92.

OXUS RIVER, *see* K'UI-SHUI.

PA, part of modern Ssi-ch'uan, 82.

PAI SHI-CH'ANG, unsuccessful leader of caravans to Bactria, 81.

PARCHMENT, writing material in Parthia, 37.

PARTHIA, *see* AN-SI.

PIAU-KI, general, *see* Ho K'Ü-PING.

P'O (= Ya-chou in Ssi-ch'uan), a starting point on the road to India, 55.

PO-NU, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

POPULAR CUSTOMS, between Ta-yüan and An-si, 101, 102; like those of the Hiung-nu, *see* WU-SUN; YÜÉ-CHĪ; like those of the Yüé-chi, *see* K'ANG-KÜ; AN-TS'AI; like those of Ta-hia, *see* SHÖN-TU.

POPULATION, in Ta-yüan, 20; in T'iau-chi, 43; in Ta-hia, 50.

POSTAL ROADS in Ta-yüan to K'ang-kü, 9.

PO-WANG, Marquis of, title bestowed on Chang K'ien in 123 B. C., 58; name commands respect in western countries, 77; trade conformed to precedent created by, 79; successors to, as ambassadors to the West men without distinction, 85.

PREFECTS, posts of, given as rewards to army officers, 130.

PROVISIONS given to Hiung-nu, but refused to Chinese envoys to the West, 98; difficulties in procuring, from cities *en route* by Chinese army, 111; drawn from all parts of the empire for second army against Ta-yüan, 116; carriers of, selected from offenders against the law, 119; readily granted *en route*, 120; Ta-yüan grants, to the Chinese army, 123; difficulty of procuring, causes Chinese army to proceed in sections by different routes, 125; city of Yü-ch'öng refuses issue of, 125; shortness of, due to graft, 129; station for the supply of, for embassies to the West established at Lun-t'öu, 135.

P'U-T'AU = *βότρυς*. *See* Kingsmill in *JRAS*, new ser. 14. 85 n. *See also* VINE and WINE. The Chinese term *p'u-t'au* for 'grape' occurs for the first time in Chinese literature in our text.

REWARDS to army officers, 130.

RICE, grown in Ta-yüan, 19; in An-si, 31; in T'iau-chi, 41; *see also* STONES OF RICE.

RIVERS flowing east and west in Central Asia, 23.

ROBBERS, few, in Ta-hia, 10; obstruct road in Salt Lake region, 107; *see also* K'UN-MING TRIBES.

- SALT LAKE (Lopnor), believed to receive the headwaters of the Yellow River, which is said to flow underground to the south of it, 23; Western Hiung-nu east of, 24; country east of, became clear of Hiung-nu in 121 B. C., 61; proposal to invite Wu-sun to fill vacant territory, 66; Chinese victories near, 87; region near, dangerous to travelers, 107; Chinese army against Ta-yüan crosses, 111; road to the West as far as, lined with military stations, 135.
- SAN-FU, the metropolitan district, 82.
- SEA, WESTERN = Caspian or Aral, 23; = Persian Gulf, Red Sea, or Mediterranean, 39; NORTHERN, term applied to the *Palus Maeotis*, 28. (Regarding the terminology of such names as *si-hai* and *pei-hai*, cf. *Liang-han-k'an-wu-p'u-i*, chap. 8, p. 7.)
- SHA-CHÖU, original home of Yüé-chü nation, 29.
- SHANG-KUAN KIÉ invests city of Yü-ch'öng and captures its fugitive king in K'ang-kü, 126; as a leader distinguished by breaking into the enemy's lines, 129; receives a court title, 130.
- SHANG-KUI, a prefectural city in the present Kan-su province, birthplace (or, garrison?) of Chau Ti, 126.
- SHANG-TANG, a prefecture, 130.
- SHAN-HAI-KING (the 'Hill and Sea Classic'), Ssi-ma Ts'ién refrains from saying anything about its (probably much too wonderful) tales, 136.
- SHAN-YÜ (cf. the legend *Sanaob* on coins of Saka kings referred to the Chinese term by Cunningham in *Num. Chron.* 3d ser. 8 and 12; the term is explained as corresponding to Turkish *tängri kudu*, or the Chinese *t'ién-tz'i*, i. e. 'Son of Heaven,' Schott in *Sb. der Ak. der Wiss.* Berlin, 1. Dec. 1887, p. 7 of reprint), title of the Great Khan, or King, of the Hiung-nu, 5, 29, 63, 64, 66 *et passim*; death of, 12; envoys armed with letters from, respected more than those from China in countries west of Wu-sun, 98.
- SHAU-FU, a court title, 130.
- SHÖN-LI, a district near modern Ya-chöu-fu in Ssi-ch'üan, 80.
- SHÖN-TU (= Sindh, India) southeast of Ta-hia, 52; unrecorded early trade of, with Ssi-ch'üan, 53; popular customs of, like those of Ta-hia, 53; Chang K'ien's plan to discover, 53; fruitless attempts to open direct communication with, 55-58; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; missions to (via Bactria?), 79.
- SHU (Ssi-ch'üan), bamboo and cloth from, 53; easiest thoroughfare to India, 53, 55; traders of, surreptitiously export produce to Tien-yüé on the road to India, 57; territories in the southwest of, added to Chinese dominion, to serve as thoroughfares to Far West, 80, 82.
- SHU-KING, legendary accounts regarding the source of the Yellow River referred to in, seem to be confirmed by Chang K'ien's discovery, 136.
- SIAU-YÜÉ-CHÜ, 29.
- SILK, sent to Wu-sun, 67; none in Ta-yüan and countries west of it, 103.
- SILVER, *see* METALS.
- SIN-CH'Ü, Marquis of, *see* CHAU TI.
- SINDH = India, *see* SHÖN-TU.

SI-WANG-MU (lit. 'Western King's Mother,' a legendary being in the extreme west), 45.

SOGHDIANA, *see* K'ANG-KÜ.

SOLDIERS, *see* ARMY.

SON OF HEAVEN, *see* WU-TI.

SSI, a station on the supposed road to India, 55.

SSI-CH'UAN, *see* SHU.

STONES OF RICE, an annual income in kind, as a reward to army officers, 130.

SU-HIÉ, small country east of Ta-yüan, 92.

SUI TRIBES, 56.

SÜ KUANG, scholiast, 82 n.

'SWEATING BLOOD,' said of horses, *see* HAN-HÜÉ.

SYRIA, *see* LI-KAN.

TA-HIA (Bactria), occupied by the Yüé-chi (Indoseythians), 10, 11, 29; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the southwest of Ta-yüan, 22; south of Yüé-chi, 29; described, 46-53; people bad warriors, but good traders, 49; great, rich, and civilized like China, 54; Wu-ti consults Chang K'ien about, 61; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; attempts to reach by the southern route (Yün-nan, Ssi-ch'uan, etc.) interfered with by K'un-ming tribes, 81; northern route via Tsiu-ts'üan, 84.

TA-HING, 'Chief of Foreign Office,' title bestowed on Chang K'ien, 74.

TA-I, small country in the west of Ta-yüan, 92.

T'AI-CHUNG-TA-FU, title bestowed on Chang K'ien, 13.

TA-LU, a son of the King of Wu-sun, 71.

T'ANG-I, family owning a Tartar (Hiung-nu?) slave, 4.

T'ANG-I FU, so called because he must be held to have been adopted by the T'ang-i family, *see* KAN FU.

TANGUTANS, *see* K'ANG.

TARTARS (*hu*), generally designating the Hiung-nu (Huns) with the several nomadic Turkish, Mongolic, and Tungusic tribes forming their empire, 4, 10, 86, 107.

TA-TSÜ, 'the Great Marsh' = *Palus Maeotis*, or Sea of Azov, near the country of the Alans, *see* AN-TS'AI.

TA-YÜAN, i. e. Great Yüan, in opposition to Siao-yüan, i. e. Little Yüan, a small country east of it and probably named after it. I am now inclined to look upon *Yüan* as the real name of the country, *ta* being an epithet placed before it as in the case of Ta-ts'in and Ta-yüé-chi. For, although our chapter is entitled 'Ta-yüan' and the country is so styled especially in Chang K'ien's own report to the emperor, *Yüan* without the prefix *ta* is, in our text, often used for it, not merely in combinations as in *yüan-ma*, 'horses of Yüan,' or *yüan kuei-jön*, 'the notables of Yüan,' but also in phrases where it could not well be interpreted as a mere abbreviation, e. g. *po yüan*, 'to defeat Yüan.' From paragraphs 101 to 103 it would appear that the population of Ta-yüan had many characteristics in common with the nations adjoining it in the west as far as An-si (Parthia). This seems to justify us in looking

upon Ta-yüan as a northeastern portion of the former Bactrian empire which, for some reason or other, may have escaped conquest by the Yüé-chi. The people grow rice, the cultivation of which must have come to them from India by way of Bactria (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 8th ed., 1911, p. 504 ff.), and store wine from the grape, in which respect they may have adopted the practice of Greek settlers in Bactria. It seems quite possible that the name by which such a semi-Greek population became known to the surrounding Tartar tribes, especially the Hiung-nu or the Wu-sun, from whom Chang K'ien may have obtained his first notice of the country, was Yavan, of which Yüan is a fair linguistic equivalent. For, 'the Yavanas are the Greeks of the Asiatic dominions and especially the Bactrians, situated just beyond the borders of India.' Cf. C. C. Torrey, 'Yawan and Hellas,' *JAOS* 25. 304; Dr. Edkins, in his paper 'What did the ancient Chinese know of the Greeks and Romans?' *J. China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. 18, 1883, p. 5; E. Bournouf, *JA* 10. 233 f.; T. de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of Early Chinese Civilization*, p. 221.

TA-YÜAN (Ferghana), first known through Chang K'ien, 1; reached by Chang K'ien, 7; connected by postal roads with K'ang-kü (Soghdiana), 9; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; Chang K'ien's account of, 18-22; great, rich and civilized like China, 54; assistant envoy sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; horses from, stronger than those from Wu-sun, 79; restrained by reputation of Chinese victories near Lake Lopnor, 87; small countries east and west of, 92; best horses of, kept at the city of Ir-shi, 105; not afraid of an attack by the Chinese, 107; refuses to deliver the horses of Ir-shi, 108; first army sent against, fails, 110-113; second campaign decided upon, 114-116; its organization, 117-119; city of the king of, has no wells, 117; Chinese army reaches, 120; battle won by Chinese archers; Ta-yüan army takes refuge in city, 121; water supply cut off and city invested, negotiations for peace resulting in the delivery of horses and the establishment of Chinese supremacy, 122-124; campaign against, occupies four years, 131; kings of, see MU-KUA; MEI-TS'AI; CH'AN-FÖNG.

TA-YÜAN AND AN-SI, countries between: language, 101; appearance and character of the people, 102; position of women, 102; have no silk or varnish, 103; taught melting and casting of metals by Chinese, 103.

TA-YÜE-CHI, see YÜE-CHI.

TI tribes, prevent expedition to India, 56.

T'IAU-CHI (Chaldea), in the west of Parthia, 38, 39; described, 40-45; governed by petty chiefs, considered a foreign country by Parthia, 43; legends of Jo-shui and Si-wang-mu, 45; regular missions to, 79.

T'IENT-MA, 'heavenly horse' (the wild horse?), 19, 79. (Regarding the legendary origin of the 'heavenly horse,' see SHI-KI, Chavannes, 3. 236 f.)

TIEN-YÜE, country on the supposed road to India, 57.

TÖNG KUANG reproved for advising discontinuance of war against Ta-yüan, 116.

TRADE, in An-si, 35; in Ta-hia, 49, 51; from China to Bactria via India,

53; smugglers from Shu (Ssi-ch'uan) send goods to Tién-yüé on the road to India, 57; between China and western countries dates from Chang K'ien's mission, 77; by caravans to and from Western Asia stimulated by demand for good horses, 79; *see also* CARAVANS; EXPEDITIONS; TRIBUTE.

TRANSCRIPTIONS (of foreign sounds): (Ta-) Yüan = Yavan; Luk-li = derivative of *uluk*, great (?), 12; p'u-t'au = *βόρυς*, 19; An-ts'ai = Aorsi, 28; An-si = Arsak, 30; Shön-tu = Sindh, 52; muk-suk = bur-chak (?), 100; Ir-shi = Nish, *Νῆσαία* (?), 105. (Note that final *r* may be represented by final *t* or final *n* in old Chinese not later than the 13th century, cf. Hirth, 'Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in Foreign Names,' in *Journ. China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. 21, 1886, p. 214 ff., or by final *k*, cf. T. de Lacouperie, 'The Djurtchen of Manchuria,' *JRAS* 21. 436.)

TRIBUTE brought by Parthia and small countries on the way to China, 92.
TSANG-KO, a district comprising parts of modern Ssi-ch'uan, Hu-nan, Kui-chóu and Kuang-si, 80.

TS'ÏEN, a small country in the west of Ta-yüan, 92.

TSIEN-MI, a notable of Ta-yüan, captured at the siege of the city, 122.

TS'IN, a man of, i. e. a Chinese, 122.

TSIU-TS'ÜAN, district near the Great Wall, established to facilitate trade with Far West, 79; military stations near, 89, 135; army to protect boundary in, 118; resident military governor appointed for, 134.

TS'ÖN-TS'Ü, title of the son of the crown prince of Wu-sun, 71; given Chinese princess in marriage by his grandfather, the K'un-mo king, 90.

TSO-YÉ, MARQUIS OF, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

TSUNG-P'IAU, *see* CHAU PO-NU.

TUN-HUANG, near old seats of Yüé-chi, 29; locusts near, 111; Chinese army returns to, 111, 113; second army leaves, 116, 119, 125.

TU-YÜ, title of a resident military governor, 134.

VARNISH, 103.

VINE, seeds of the, (seedlings?) imported from Ta-yüan and planted near the Imperial summer palaces, 100; *see also* WINE.

WAGONS and carts with army against Ta-yüan, 119.

WALL, *see* GREAT WALL.

WANG K'UI, leader of caravans to the west, 85; created Marquis of Hau, 88; attached to the army against Ta-yüan, 110.

WANG SHÖN-SHÖNG, military governor, defeated and killed on an expedition to Yü-ch'öng, 124.

WEI KUANG, general sent against the K'un-ming tribes in 109 B. C., 82.

WESTERN SEA (*si-hai*), *see* SEA, WESTERN.

WHEAT (barley?), grown in Ta-yüan, 19; in An-si, 31.

WINE, grape, in Ta-yüan, 19, 99, 100; in An-si, 31; *see also* VINE.

WOLF, a She-, becomes legendary wet-nurse of king of Wu-sun exposed in wilderness, 62. (Note that a she-wolf is mythologically connected with the origin of many Turkish tribes, which may also account for 'the symbolic use by them of a wolf's head at particular functions,' cf.

E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, p. 178; Kingsmill, *JRAS* 14. 85 n.

WOMEN influence husbands in countries between Ta-yüan and An-si, 102.
WÖN-SHAN, a district corresponding to modern Máu-chóu in Ssi-ch'uan, 80.

WRESTLERS, 95.

WRITING, in Parthia, 37.

WU-SUN (a nation in the neighborhood of Lake Issyk-kul, on the southern slope of the T'ien-shan, according to Sü Sung, *Si-yü-shui-tau-ki*, chap. 4, p. 11, whither they had migrated from Kua-chóu, their former homes at the time of the Contending States during the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., according to the scholiast in *Shi-ki*, 110, p. 12; cf. *Ts'ién-han-shu*, chap. 96 B, p. 1 B, and other passages; cf. also Shiratori, p. 103 ff.; probably of Turkish stock like the Hiung-nu; cf. note under WOLF, Shiratori, *op. cit.*, and Franke, pp. 17-21), in the northeast of Ta-yüan, 22; a nomad nation like the Hiung-nu, 25; formerly subject to Hiung-nu, 26; legendary origin of their King K'un-mo, 62; retreat from their original territory among the western Hiung-nu to the more distant west, 64; maintain their independence, 65; Chang K'ien proposes their filling vacant territory near western boundary of China and bribing them by presents and the marriage of their king with a Chinese princess to become friends of China, 66; Chang K'ien's expedition to, 67-74; court ceremonial of, corrected by Chang K'ien, 68; declines to move to the east, 69, 70, 71; guides, interpreters, and other natives accompany Chang K'ien back to China, 73; and return to their homes full of the impressions they have received of China's greatness, 76; missions to China interfered with by Hiung-nu, so that Wu-sun asks for a Chinese princess in marriage, 78; horses from, compared with those from Ta-yüan, 79; restrained by reports of Chinese victories near Lake Lopnor, 87; a Chinese princess sent for marriage to, 90; rich in horses, 91; China's prestige with, depends on success in far-western warfare, 115; not very quick in complying with Wu-ti's wish to attack Ta-yüan, 127.

WU-TI, the emperor (generally referred to as the Son of Heaven, Wu-ti being his posthumous designation), informed of their flight to the west, anxious to find the Yüé-chi as allies against the Hiung-nu, 3, 4; falls in with Chang K'ien's plan of extending Chinese sphere of influence to Western Asia, 54; approves of Chang K'ien's scheme of befriending the Wu-sun nation, 67; consults 'Book of Changes' about horses; his craze for western horses develops caravan trade, 79; highly pleased by results of mission to Parthia, 92; likes company of foreigners, 95; feasts given to them lay the foundation for the popular taste among the Chinese for the performances of jugglers, wrestlers, mummers, etc., 95; creates vineyards and lucerne fields, 100; his fondness for the horses of Nish (îr-shî) becomes the source of a campaign against Ta-yüan, 106-110; angry at Li Kuang-li's failure to punish Ta-yüan, 113; his ambition about China's reputation in western Asia, 115; tries to engage Wu-sun

to fight Ta-yüan, 127; foreign princes anxious to be presented to, 128; bestows rewards on generals, 130.

YAU TING-HAN, former ambassador to Ta-yüan, proposes war, 110.

YELLOW RIVER, *see* Ho RIVER.

YÜ-CH'ÖNG, city on the eastern frontier of Ta-yüan, Chinese envoys intercepted and killed at, 109; first Chinese army against Ta-yüan routed at the siege of, 111; Li Kuang-li avoids, 122; reconnoitering body of Chinese troops defeated by, 125; invested by the Chinese, 126; its king pursued to K'ang-kü, delivered, and killed, 126.

YÜË (= Nan-yüé), 5, 57; wars against, in 112 B. C. referred to (?), 80.

YÜË-CHI (Indoscythians; for an exhaustive digest removing many prejudices entertained by European scholars, cf. Franke, p. 21 ff.), their disappearance from the neighborhood of China reported to the Emperor Wu-ti by Hiung-nu (Hun) prisoners, 3; desired by the Chinese as allies against the Hiung-nu, 3, 4; Chang K'ien conducted to, 9; defeated by the Hiung-nu, conquer Ta-hia (Bactria), 10, 29, 49; visited by Chang K'ien in person, 17; in the west of Ta-yüan, 22; politically influence K'ang-kü, 27; described, 29; popular customs of, like those of Hiung-nu (of An-si according to *Ts'ién-han-shu*), 29; old seats and migration to the west, 29; capital and court north of the Oxus (somewhere about Bukhara), 29; strong in military, 54; assistant ambassadors sent to, 72; ambassadors to, passed south of Wu-sun, 78; population on the road to, beyond Wu-sun help Hiung-nu rather than Chinese envoys by supplying provisions, 98.

YÜË-SUI, a district on the boundary of Yün-nan and Ssü-ch'uan, 80.

YÜ-MÖN GATE, in the Great Wall, line of military stations near, 89; closed up, 113; Chinese second army returns to, 129.

YÜ-PÖN-KI, 'Life of the Emperor Yü,' Ssü-ma Ts'ién's view of its wonderful tales, 136. (This is not one of the chapters styled *pön-ki* and devoted to the lives of emperors by Ssü-ma Ts'ién himself, but a work not preserved in our days, cf. Chavannes, l. clxxii f.)

YÜ-TIÊN (Khotan), east (*sic*) of Ta-yüan, 22; the watershed of rivers in Central Asia, 23; produces jadestone, 23; assistant envoys sent to, by Chang K'ien from Wu-sun, 72; quarries near, yield jadestone brought to China, 93; Yellow River supposed to rise near, 93.